> At Tongataboo we noticed just the very reverse: in the presence of the aged the 171 175 [888]
> younger persons observed the most respectful silence. . . .
>
> In the Friendly Islands marriage is general, and, except the chiefs, they seem to have [582] [595]
> only one wife. It is said at Tongataboo, that adultery is punished with death. There, [622]
> and at the Marquesas, no infant murders are allowed; but, contrariwise, they are fond [684]
> of their children, and take pleasure in a numerous family. Though at the decease of [847]
> Tibo Moomôoe [Tui Kanokupolu Mumui], and during his illness, some cruel and inhuman [855]
> practices are mentioned, yet nothing comparable with the horrible human sacrifices at
> Otaheite. In another feature also they differ, as old age is as much respected at Ohitahoo [888]
> and Tongataboo as it is neglected at Otaheite.

Elsewhere (66, p. xlix) Wilson remarks: "The women were far less [291]
immodest [than those of Eastern Polynesia]; but the men were more gen- [276]
erally addicted to the pepper-root draught, here called kava." [562]

The manner in which an establishment set up by a newly married couple 592
may be augmented is illustrated by the following example. When a Hihifo 622
(western Tongatabu) chief married a Hahake (eastern Tongatabu) woman, 602
some of the wife's relatives came to live with the couple at their home in 591
Hihifo. When a child was born still more came. They would look after the pigs, and the plantations. They did more for the couple than did the husband's relatives, although they too were supposed to aid. This is a manifestation of the superiority of the husband's side of the family to the wife's.

RANK WITHIN THE FAMILY

Rank within the Tongan family involves two fundamental factors, sex 561
and age. Of the two, sex is unalterable and may transcend age. A woman 562
is always superior in rank to her brother regardless of seniority and it fol- 593
lows from this that a woman's children are always superior to her brother's 565
children. After sex, relative age becomes the determinant for rank. Generally speaking, older sisters outrank younger sisters and older brothers outrank younger brothers.

The father's side of the family is the chiefly (*eiki*) side, the mother's side of the family the commoner (*tua*) side.

A child must respect his father and his father's brother who are in many 604
ways tapu to him; but to his father's sister (*mehekitanga*) he must pay
even greater respect. It is she who is really supreme in the family. Her [784]
person, food, clothes, and bed are tapu; she often controls the matri- [582]
monial destinies of her brother's children. The respect which is shown her
is extended also to her husband. In other words, a man marrying a woman [607]
has the same sort of social superiority to his wife's brothers that the woman
herself has. It is the woman's relatives who frequently serve her and her 602
husband. A striking example of this principle is revealed in a curious 604
practice. While eating, the people of Niuafoou Island turn their backs to 264

Kanokupolu, Nuku, and Niukapu are called the Ulutolu (Three-heads). 613 (See p. 102.) The name Haa Latu Hifo is said to refer to the fact that the first Tui Kanokupolu and his descendants went up in rank, while his "brothers" Nuku and Niukapu and their descendants went down in rank. Literally Haa Latu Hifo means Lineage of Descending Chiefs. Nuku is the head of the Haa Latu Hifo, as he is the "older brother." The Tamaha's genealogies mention the Haa Siulangapo along with the Haa Latu Hifo and state that the Tui Haa Takalaua Moungatonga is the ancestor of both. I learned nothing further of the former lineage.

HAA HAVEA

The ancestor of the Haa Havea was Mataeletuapiko, the third Tui Kanokupolu. The modern chiefs who belong to this lineage are Maafu Tukuiaulahi, [551] Lavaka, Fielakepa, Fohe, Tui Vakano, Vaea, and Momotu. The Maafu is [622] ranking member. Momotu is claimed also by the Haa Ngata Motua, for it is said of the present holder of the title that his father was of the Haa Ngata Motua and his mother of the Haa Havea. Although I do not know the [622] actual circumstances, it nevertheless is likely that failure of the patrilineal line forced the selection of an individual of the matrilineal line for the title: hence the conflict in the affiliations of the present holder of the title. The title anciently belonged to the Haa Havea.

HAA NGATA TUPU

The ancestor of Haa Ngata Tupu was Mataelehaamea, the fourth Tui Kanokupolu. This is the youngest of all of the great modern lineages. It embraces the Ulukalala chiefs of Vavau, of whom Mariner's patron Finau was one. Fakailoatonga also belongs to this lineage. Ulukalala is the head. Ancestors of this lineage, according to the Tamaha's genealogies are Tuituiohu (son of Mataelehaamea), Tupoutoa (son of Mataelehaamea), Tuioemoana (son of Alapuku, son of Tupoutoa), and Kapetaua (son of Tuioemoana). Tolo (whom I have not identified) is also of this lineage. [551)

The Haa Ngata Tupu did not join the kava circle, but it was their duty [276] to guard the kava making for the Tui Kanokupolu. Ulukalala was not present [574] in the kava circle at the appointment ceremony of the present Tui Kanokupolu Charlotte. [643]

HAA MALIEPO

The great matapule Lauaki heads the Haa Maliepo, which is of traditional celestial origin. The first Lauaki, or Maliepo as he was called, descended from the sky with Ahoeitu, the first Tui Tonga. Among his duties

terpretations. Either there was considerable variation, or the recorders have 195
erred, perhaps because of the non-use of, and lack of familiarity with, the 537
Tui Tonga prelude. I have translated the word *hau* (literally, ruling prince) 574
as Tui Kanokupolu in the following prelude. It applies also to the Tui 643
Haa Takalaua. 576

643
574

1.	Tapu moe Takafalu	Tapu to the Tui Tonga, literally Back of the Chief. [The back is mentioned because the king is too sacred to be named in person.]	195 537 613
2.	Pea tapu moe Tui Faleua	And tapu to the Tui Pelehake.	622 539
3.	Pea tapu mo Haa Takalaua	And tapu to the Tui Haa Takalaua [and presumably the chiefs of the lineage Haa Takalaua].	576 [643]
4.	Pea tapu mo Haa Uluakimata	And tapu to the Tamaha [according to an informant] and presumably chiefs of the Haa Uluakimata.	
5.	Pea tapu moe Sinae eiki moe Sinae	And tapu to the Sinae of high rank and the other Sinae.	
6.	Pea tapu mo Fale Fisi	And tapu to the chiefs of the lineage Fale Fisi.	
7.	Pea tapu moe huhu Eiki	And tapu to the chiefs in general. [The informant Tapueluelu said *huhu Eiki* applied to the Tui Tonga. The word *huhu* means "the breasts" and "to suck," suggesting that women of high rank may be meant.]	
8.	Pea tapu mo Faoamanafa	And tapu to Faoamanafa. [One informant suggested that this referred to a chief Faoa of Hihifo district, Tongatabu, but this seems to me to be unlikely.]	
9.	Pea tapu moe alofi tapu	And tapu to the chiefs in the sacred kava circle.	
10.	Pea tapu moe toua tapu	And tapu to the chiefs sitting behind the kava bowl.	
11.	Pea tapu moe Vaeamatoka	And tapu to Vaeamatoka.	
	Kae ata keu lea	Allow me to speak.	
	Ma tafi tonga sahoeu	May the southern sky be clear.	
	Pea o ua e popo uli e alo ni	And ward off filthy rottenness from the sons of chiefs [?].	

574
643
Three speech preludes for use in the kava circles of the Tui Haa Taka- 195
laua and Tui Kanokupolu have been recorded. One has been published 537
(15, p. 32). Although they differ in detail they are all alike in relegating 576
the Tui Tonga to oblivion and his kin to subordinate rank in the list of
chiefs. The published prelude mentions the Tui Haa Takalaua first, the Tui
Kanokupolu (now the supreme ruler) third.

Only matapules use the full prelude. A high chief mentions only two or 195
three chiefs and lineages and then asks the king's matapule, Maliepo and 537
Molofaha, to finish for him. Then he goes on with his speech. This takes 622
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574
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place at a kava ring, as kava drinking forms a part of all meetings of chiefs, no matter what the business.

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195
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According to the informant Tapueluelu there are certain chiefs who speak, certain who do not. Maatu, Fotofili, Vaea, Ata, Vahai, Ulukalala, Niukapu, and Nuku are chiefs who do not speak. Chiefs who speak are Tui Haa Teiho, Tui Haa Ngana, and Malupo. Tapueluelu thinks that this is a survival of old status in which the speaking chiefs were higher than those not allowed to speak.

622
[276]
[576]

The following prelude was found among the papers of the late Tafolo, a chief of the Sinae ki Mua or Tui Tonga lineage.

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[613]

1.	Tapu mo hotau Eiki	Tapu to our Lord [presumably the Deity].
2.	Tapu mo hotau Ha'a Moheofo	Tapu to our Haa Moheofo [Tui Kanokupolu].
3.	Tapu mo hotau Tu'i Ha'a Mo'unga	Tapu to our Tui Haa Mounga [Tui Kanokupolu].
4.	Tapu mo hotau Ha'a Ngata mo Ha'a Ngata	Tapu to our Haa Ngata Motua and Haa Ngata Tupu.
5.	Tapu moe Sina'e ki Mua mo Sina'e ki Mui	Tapu to the first Sinae and the last Sinae.
6.	Tapu mo Ha'a Latu Hifo	Tapu to the Haa Latu Hifo.
7.	Tapu mo Ha'a Havea	Tapu to the Haa Havea.
8.	Tapu mo Ha'a Ma'afu	Tapu to the Haa Maafu.
9.	Tapu mo Ha'a Vaea	Tapu to the Haa Vaea.
10.	Tapu mo Kano Loto'a 'oe Hau (aia ko Ha'a Ngana mo Ha'a Ngana mo Ha'a Teiho kae uma'a Afitu mo Lakepa).	Tapu to the chiefs who live in the enclosure of the Tui Kanokupolu (namely Tui Haa Ngana, Malupo, Tui Haa Teiho, and likewise Tui Afitu and Tui Lakepa).
11.	Tapu mo Maliepo mo Molofaha	Tapu to Maliepo and Molofaha [Lauaki and Motuapuaka, matapule of the king].
12.	Tapu mo Fokololo 'oe Hau	Tapu to Fokololo [navigators] of the Tui Kanokupolu.
13.	Tapu mo moha ngaahi haa fa'ahinga 'oku totonu ke kau ki ai 'ae tala 'oe fakatapu na'e fai 'ehe matua ni.	Tapu to any Haa or Faahinga which is not mentioned here but has a right to be mentioned in the prelude the forefathers gave.

Apparently the following lines were sometimes added:

1a.	Tapu mo Hou'eiki fofonga kui	Tapu to the heads of the chiefs
2a.	Tapu mo Hou'eiki houtamaki	Tapu to the imperious chiefs [refers to Haa Ngata Motua and Haa Ngata Tupu who see to keeping order in the kava circle and whip people who do not obey]
3a.	Tapu moe Tu'i Hoi	Tapu to the Tui Hoi

The following prelude is from the manuscripts of Maatu, Lord of Niuatoputapu Island. It is modern, for the Deity is mentioned first:

CHARACTERIZATION OF THE TUI TONGA

The following information has been obtained regarding the Tui Tonga listed on page 50: 173 175 643

1. Ahoeitu, the legendary first Tui Tonga of the dynasty which ended on December 9, 1865, with the death of Laufilitonga, the thirty-ninth ruler of the line, was the reputed son of a Tongan woman and a sky-god, Tangaloa Eitumatupua. While visiting his celestial father, Ahoeitu was killed by his half brothers. After his resurrection he was sent by his father down to Tonga to become its ruler. With him came his brothers who occupied subordinate positions. "Ahoeitu returned to earth and became Tui Tonga, the first [divine] Tui Tonga of the world. The Tui Tonga who originated from the offspring of the worm were displaced." (26, pp. 25, 38.)

The non-supernatural features of this legend suggest the beginning of a new line of rulers from the union of a woman of the earlier Tongan population with an immigrant or newly risen chief. The approximate date is believed to be 950 A. D.

The five celestial paternal half brothers, who descended from the sky with Ahoeitu, served him as subordinates in certain capacities. Three of these five are said to have representatives to-day in Tonga, not necessarily lineal descendants, for the names are really titles of offices which may be filled from collateral lines of relatives. The five half brothers of Ahoeitu and their representatives were: Talafale (Tui Faleua), represented today by Tui Pelehake; Matakehe, with no known representative; Maliepo, represented by Lauaki; Tui Loloko, represented by Tui Loloko; Tui Folaha, with no known representative.

2-9. Lolofakangalo, Fangaoneone, Lihau, Kofutu, Kaloa, Mauhau, Apuanea, Afulunga. Of the seven Tui Tonga who succeeded Ahoeitu there are known only the names and the statement that son succeeded father, until Momo, the tenth ruler of the line.

10. Momo. If the account is to be trusted, Momo chose as his chief wife Nua, the daughter of Loau, the Tui Haamea of central Tongatabu. This custom of selecting a daughter of a powerful chief of Tongatabu as wife and mother of the new king prevailed thenceforth throughout the whole history of the dynasty. Within the last four centuries the daughter of the Tui Haa Takalaua or of the Tui Kanokupolu was selected. The mythical origin of kava would seem to be connected with Momo's reign, inasmuch as it is the chief Loau of Haamea who plays a leading part in the tale (26, pp. 71-75). However, as there seems to have been more than one chief with the name of Loau this is not absolutely certain. [581] [581] [276]

Apparently the Loau of Momo's time bore the full name of Loau Tuputoka. A chief of that name visited Savaii Island, Samoa, in Momo's reign, at the time the carapace of the famous turtle, Sangone, was reputed to have been buried (26, pp. 49-54). To Loau Tongafisifonua of perhaps another reign is attributed the famous voyage to the horizon (26, pp. 139-152).

The reign of Momo must have been traditionally important for a proverbial expression (*hau 'o Momo*) refers to it. In his day, and in fact down through the time of Takalaua, the Tui Tonga was the temporal ruler (*hau*), as well as the sacred ruler.

It was apparently in Momo's reign or in that of his predecessor that the royal residence was moved from central or southeastern Tongatabu to Heketa, northeastern Tongatabu.

11. King Tuitatui, who reigned about 1200 A. D., left his mark in Tongan legendary history. Even an alleged peculiarity of head form is recorded, and what was believed to be his skull was unearthed in Heketa, Tongatabu, some years ago. He is the reputed builder of the Trilithon. During his reign, the capital was at Heketa, near the famous structure (26, pp. 48-49). There Tuitatui erected the two royal tombs, Langi Heketa and Langi Moungalafa, presumably for his father and himself. [349]

the Tui Kanokupolu, the *sinae* (chiefs of the Tui Tonga's family or court), 643
the other great chiefs, and the Falefa ministers. Though I was told that
if there were no heir, the Tui Haa Takalaua would be elevated to the office
of Tui Tonga and a new Tui Haa Takalaua appointed, I know of no instance
of this. The statement nevertheless bears out what was said by the Prince
Consort Tungi concerning the modern monarchy, that if heir after heir to
the throne died a new heir would continue to be sought in lower and lower
ranks, blood relationship being of course the guiding factor, until ultimately
the choice might come to a commoner. This illustrates that rank in Tonga [565]
is relative, not absolute.

Apparently the ministers of the Tui Tonga, who were called the Falefa, 643
at times had a hand in the selection of the new Tui Tonga. According to a 644
reliable Vavau informant the four Falefa went to the island of Ofolanga,
to bring back the prince Fakanaanaa and to elevate him to the kingship.
With the death of the Tui Tonga Laufilitonga in 1865, the Falefa took to 643
the Tui Kanokupolu George I Tupou, at his residence, a kava root and a 276
kava bowl, and made kava ceremonially for him as the new Tui Tonga. 574 644
This simple ceremony, called *fulitaunga,* consisted of mixing the kava for 643
him with the bowl turned so that the cord for suspending it was on the 276
side towards him. (This cord hangs from a perforated projection on one 415
side of the circular kava bowl, the word *fulitaunga* referring to this feature.) 574
In making kava for the Tui Tonga or Tamaha, the bowl was always 643
put in this position, while for the Tui Kanokupolu or chiefs of lower rank 574
it was not. Hence the cord on the side of the bowl facing George I constituted
official notice of his forthcoming elevation to the kingship. This [644]
action of the Falefa was later ratified at an assembly of the chiefs of the
kingdom at Vavau.

According to the aged informant Tamale, chief of Niutoua, Tongatabu, 643
one fertile cause for the murder of the Tui Tonga was the ambition of 687
scheming great chiefs who desired the high office for themselves or relatives.
Certain of the Falefa would be induced to assassinate him. The fact that [644]
they were foreigners or descendants of foreigners, rendered them safe from
the curse which would fall upon a native Tongan for such a deed. If the 643
above information is correct it seems likely that the father-son succession 644
to the throne was interrupted more frequently than tradition indicates. The
part played by the Falefa in the succession to the throne was evidently of a
sinister nature at times. In the elevation of Fakanaanaa and George I
Tupou to the high office of Tui Tonga, the Falefa functioned in a more
beneficent light.

Cook and other writers speak of Fatafehi as the family name of the 643
Tui Tonga, but I see no similarity to our family names. The genealogies 551
reveal a very considerable number of the Tui Tonga's children who never

Tupoutoa (Tukuaho's son) was in Haapai when the news came that Tukuaho was 643
killed by Tupouniua and Ulukalala. 173

Finau, who was beside Tukuaho upon his assassination, was his daughter by Fangafua, 175
his cousin. [Fangafua is not given in the lists as a wife of Tukuaho.] The child
lived. When news came that Tukuaho was dead, Fangafua was carried to Pangai, 682
then to Mua, where lay Tukuaho's body. Ata Tofuaipangai, Fangafua's father, instructed 768
that she be strangled so that she might die together with her lord, to which Fangafua agreed. The chiefs said that she was to be buried by the side of her husband, but Ata protested, "No, she is to be taken to Hihifo." So they started to strangle Fangafua, Ulakai standing on the left side, Uhilamoelangi on the right. But Uhilamoelangi could not pull the rope, for he loved his mother. [Apparently Fangafua was not Uhilamoelangi's natural mother. The Tamaha genealogies make him the son of Halaevalukovi, Tukuaho's sister.] Fangafua thereupon took his side of the rope and helped him to pull it. Then she died. Ata ordered her body to be taken to Hihifo, where all the chiefs went. Then Ata said that after Fangafua was buried they would make war. They arrived in Hihifo and sat up for one night with Fangafua's corpse.
When morning came she was buried. Meanwhile, Halaevalukovi (full sister of the 644
slain Tukuaho) stayed by the beach in Hihifo in a little Tongan house mourning for 643
Tukuaho. She stayed there for about a month while Hihifo was getting ready for war. 173

One morning Vahai came with some kava and stood outside Halaevalukovi's house 175
and spoke thus to her: "Why does this silly woman stay near the beach?" She did 765
not answer and he had to speak again.

Then she answered, "Why do you want to know?"

Then entering with his kava he said, "Stand up and beat the kava for me to drink and I will dry your tears."

She answered: "Who said so?"

He replied, "I said so." Then Halaevalukovi sent some girls to go and get all the [276]
necessary things for the kava. When the things were brought Halaevalukovi made the kava and then told Vahai that it was ready. Vahai had a drink. He would not allow anyone else to drink as he wanted it all for himself. He had a second bowl and a third. Then he told Halaevalukovi to stand up and go outside and empty the kava out, for he had had the three chief kavas. Then he said good-bye and went away, telling Halaevalukovi to wait and see what happened.

When Vahai returned from Halaevalukovi he went straight to Haa Vakatolo, to the 173
house of Ahomee, and called out and asked for the men. Ahomee told him they had 175
gone to the Liku. Vahai told him to go and tell them to return. Vahai then went on 669
to Foui while Ahomee went for the men. When Vahai arrived in Foui he got all his 726
men together and told them to get ready, as they were to have war on all Tonga. When Ahomee got all his men together they went to Foui and the war started. [For account of the fighting, see 17, p. 140; 16, p. 90.]

After the burial of Tukuaho, Tupoutoa came to Tongatabu, from Haapai, while 644
Ulukalala went to Vavau. When Tupoutoa arrived in Tonga he got all his brothers 173
and sisters and they went to Hihifo and knelt before the sun and prayed for [their 175
father's sister] Halaevalukovi. Then they went to see her and their mother Lepolo, for 782
that was the first time they had gone to them since the death of their father Tukuaho. They knelt before the sun with their heads bowed till afternoon. Then Ulakai came and spoke to Halaevalukovi, "Why do you not speak to your people? They have been here all day and you have said nothing." So Halaevalukovi went and asked them to come in. Then she and the people of Hihifo prepared ovens of food (*feiumu*) to welcome her
people. There were many pigs killed, the reason being that in Tonga a woman [father's [562]
sister] in the family is always the highest chief. After their welcome the brothers and sisters came to Nukualofa.

15. Maafuolimuloa. Maafuolimuloa, Tukuaho's successor as Tui Kanokupolu, was, 643
according to the Tamaha Amelia, not in the line of succession for the office of Tui 173
Kanokupolu. He was the great grandson of the third Tui Kanokupolu Mataeletuapiko 175
and brother of the great chief Maafutukuiaulahi (personal name Tangatailavalu) of

I have but little information as to the installation (*fakanofo*) of the Tui Kanokupolu. The place of installation (*fakanofo anga*) seems anciently to have been at Kanokupolu, Tongatabu Island, where a special tree served as the back rest of the new appointee. The crux of the appointment ceremony is the serving of the kava to the new incumbent, for it is then that his new name or title is publicly spoken. When the kava is ready the matapule Motuapuaka calls: "Omi ia ki he ni maa Tupou!" (Bring it here for Tupou!) This is unlike the procedure in the ordinary kava ceremony. 643 [276] [553] [574]

West (62, pp. 58, 59) describes the appointment of the Tui Kanokupolu George I as follows:

> The day appointed was the 4th of December, 1845; and, accordingly, the chiefs from various parts of Tonga, Haabai, and Vavau, assembled in state. A few of the Tonga chiefs were still Heathens. Among these were Nuku, Maafu, Tubou-leva, Tugi, and several others; but all parties appeared to approve heartily of the measure. The company was select. None were allowed to go near, in order to stare, or to walk about. To prevent such conduct, a Fijian, dressed, and blackened, according to the custom of his country, walked to and fro as the guard of the ceremony, armed with club and spear. [See account of installation of the present Tui Kanokupolu in 1918, page 94.] The day was very fine, and the gathering of the noted politicians and warriors of the land, under the magnificent trees, which have stood for ages on the sward of Bagai, presented a most interesting sight. [771]
>
> The ceremony consisted simply in publicly calling out the future official title of the king, in a *kava*-meeting; that is to say, a meeting where a preparation of kava-root is diluted and drunk by the persons assembled, according to certain well-established rules of etiquette and precedence. [574] [276]
>
> Two chiefs sat, one on either side of the king elect. These were two of the *matuas*, or "fathers" of the land. Their office was to relieve the king, and to act on his behalf. The names of the officiating chiefs were Motua-buaka and Lauaki. The others ranged themselves on either side, in order of rank, and forming a large circle, outside of which, and in front of the king, the bulk of the commoners were seated. The kava being prepared, several chiefs addressed the assembly, before it was served out. Afterwards Motua-buaka delivered an oration explaining the important object of their assembling. The king then addressed them also. Immediately he had finished, his kava was poured into a dish; and then Motua-buaka proclaimed aloud that that was the kava of Taliai-Tubou Tuikanokubolu. 643 622

THE APPOINTMENT OF THE PRESENT TUI KANOKUPOLU

The present Tui Kanokupolu and the sole ruler of Tonga is Charlotte Mafileo Veiongo. She is the second woman to bear the title, the first being the luckless Tupoumoheofo. As the head of the constitutional government of Tonga, Charlotte was proclaimed queen within a few hours after the death of her father, George II, but her appointment to the office of Tui Kanokupolu did not take place until October 9, 1918, following a six months' period of mourning. The following description is abstracted from the account of an anonymous eye witness (49): 643 [765]

facing the open space in front of the canopy. And so they quietly awaited the approach 643
of their young Queen.

Her Majesty, having seated herself on the dais, the attendants fell in behind and spread the long mat in a fan-shaped manner at the back of the Royal Chair.

For a few minutes there was a stillness over all, but presently was heard a chanting 643
of many voices, and a large party of mat-clad natives appeared at the entrance 533
to the ground. In four sections, and chanting the while, they came slowly towards where the Queen sat in state. Close by stood the herald in statue-like fashion, and so he remained until the whole party had paid their respects and had retired.

Then came a party with an offering in the form of a large root of kava. This, together with other gifts of food, was placed on the ground not many yards from the canopy.

Meanwhile the body of singers had retired and become seated in the centre of 643
the ground, and preparations were made for the making of kava—the beverage peculiar 574
to Polynesia and without which no native ceremony is complete. 276

When the whole party had become seated, there was observed sitting at the back of and at some distance from the kava party, a lonely figure—that of Uiliami Tugi, the Prince Consort. According to Tongan custom it would be wrong for such a near relation, no matter how great a chief, to be sitting in the superior circle—which is the name given to the circle of chiefs seated on either side of the Queen—and so the Prince Consort must sit alone and quite apart from the inner and outer circles. The outer circle is where the beverage is prepared. . . .

There was a great deal of formality in the matter of the distribution of the kava and much time was taken up in this direction, but after the ceremony had been fully
observed, attention was given to the food offering. The herald, who up till this 643
time had been a silent observer of the proceedings, now became a prominent figure, and with uplifted spear and with streamers flying he warily approached the line of foodstuffs and selecting a certain dainty morsel—a well-cooked young suckling pig—he made good aim and let fly the spear which hit truly the intended mark, the pig's liver. Springing forward he gently lifted on the point of the spear the offering of the day and presented it to the Queen. From thence on the food was distributed amongst the high chiefs.

Way was now made for the orators, and they came and delivered themselves 643
of speeches, the keynote of which was their acknowledgment of the right of Tu'i Salote 537
to rule over the Tongan people, and they expressed their loyalty to their ruler. Other addresses appropriate to the occasion were also delivered, and the proceedings terminated with the retirement of the Queen to the Palace.

The following notes, derived chiefly from Collocott, supplement the 643
above account.

Before the appointment the candidate in the presence of the assembled chiefs was [622]
instructed by Ata and Veehala in such matters as the stewardship of the country. This was done in accordance with traditional procedure. As required by tradition the clownish herald at the *fakanofo* ceremony belonged to the family of the chief Tui Vakano of Nukunuku, Tongatabu, or to the family of Tahifisi (32).

Ulukalala's seat is not in the kava ring (*alofi*); his place is behind the general assemblage (*toua*). He was not present, so his kava was poured on the ground at the spot where he should have been. See figure 1 for seating arrangement on this occasion.

For the making of the kava many people brought water in buckets, only a little 643
in each bucket. The idea was to show the chiefly power (*faka'ei'eiki*) of the Tui 276
Kanokupolu by the large number of the water carriers and their alacrity. 574

In dragging the kava to the *fakanofo* kava circle the Hihifo people sang the following [533]
work songs (*tauaalo*). [539]

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

643
574
276

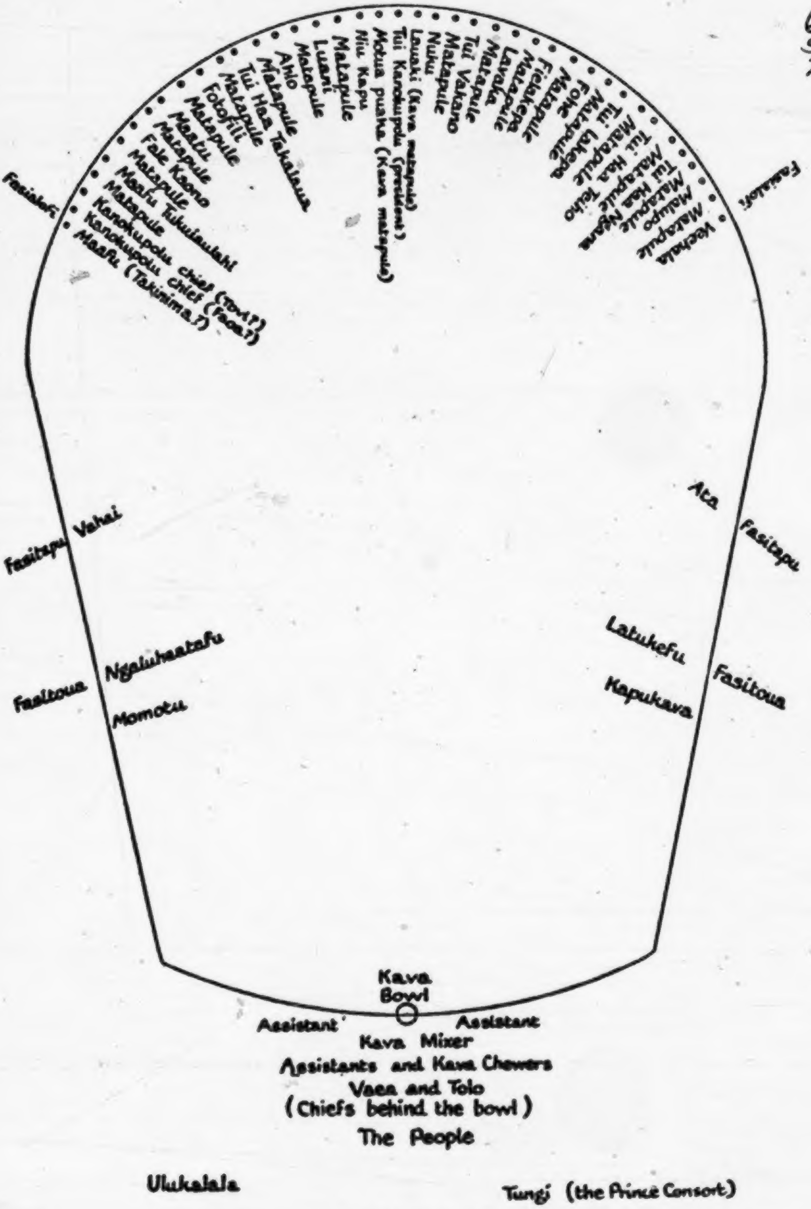
Fasiaiofi
Maafu (Takinima?)
Kanokupolu chief (Faoa?)
Kanokupolu chief (Toua?)
Matapule
Maafu Tukuiaulahi
Matapule
Fale Kaono
Matapule
Maatu
Matapule
Fotofili
Matapule
Tui Haa Takalaua
Matapule
Ahio
Matapule
Luani
Matapule
Niu Kapu
Motua puaka (Kava matapule)
Tui Kanokupolu (president)
Lauaki (Kava matapule)
Nuku
Matapule
Tui Vakano
Matapule
Malaka
Lavaka
Matakepa
Matakepa
Fielakepa
Matapule
Fohe
Matapule
Ei'i Lakepa
Matapule
Tui Haa Teiho
Matapule
Tui Haa Ngana
Matapule
Maluupo
Matapule
Veehala
Fasiaiofi
Fasitapu
Vahai
Fasitoua
Ngaluhaatafu
Momotu
Ata
Fasitapu
Latukefu
Fasitoua
Kapukava
Kava Bowl
Assistant
Assistant
Kava Mixer
Assistants and Kava Chewers
Vaea and Tolo
(Chiefs behind the bowl)
The People
Ulukalala
Tungi (the Prince Consort)

FIGURE 1.—Kava circle of the Tui Kanokupolu.

Ko Hihifo kuo laka,	Hihifo has progressed,	643
Kae mahu ai Tonga.	Thereby Tonga has prospered.	276
Koe me'a pe 'e ua kuou,	I have known only two things,	533
Koe vale pe moe tu'a piko.	The fool and the humpback.	539
Ko ilo'i tu'unga koau	I am the known foundation	574
Tua liku 'o Valefanau.	From the back of weather shore of Valefanau.	

The first and third songs praise the people of Hihifo and the prosperity of Tonga under the rule of the Tui Kanokupolu chiefs, whose original seat was Hihifo District of Tongatabu. The second song is said to mean that a fool experiences two things, his own foolishness and a back bent from hard work. 643 276 574 533

The families of the chiefs sat in the general assemblage (*toua*) behind the kava ring. At the end of the ceremony the grandchildren of the lords (*tui*) removed the materials used in making kava and the baskets containing the relish food (*fono*). These baskets were exceptionally large and made of specially chosen large coconut fronds. They are called *kato fakapangai* (Pangai-style baskets, that is, baskets befitting a great ruler). 643 276 574 622

Apparently to symbolize the allegiance of the great lineages and chiefs to the new Tui Kanokupolu was the use of the fiber kava strainers which were named for them. There were fiber strainers for the Haa Maafu, the Haa Ngata Motua (in charge of Matafahe), the Haa Havea, the Haa Ngata Tupu (in charge of Fakailoatonga), the Haa Ata (in charge of Tongatea of Haakame), the Haa Vaea (in charge of Luani of Vavau), and the Haa Maufanga (in charge of Latukefu of the Hihifo district). 643 276 574 613

While the kava was being prepared, Motuapuaka and Lauaki argued as to which was to distribute it. The origin of this traditional feature of the ceremony is said to have been a dispute between an earlier Motuapuaka and a Lauaki. Each advanced his claim to the privilege, till finally it was brought to the test of who (or whose son) slew most men in a battle. Lauaki won the precedence on this score, but later gave up the honor to Motuapuaka, who still holds it. 643 276 574

A feature of the ceremony was a series of stereotyped speeches (*malanga*) urging the people to give attention to food production in order to properly support the new ruler. Before beginning his address each speaker moved forward about two paces into the kava circle. He spoke very slowly. To speak otherwise would constitute an affront entailing the performance of the humbling ceremony (*hu*) before the ruler after the installation. 643 276 574 537

Tovi of Kanokupolu spoke first concerning the collecting of crustaceans and mollusks. Then Faoa of Kanokupolu spoke concerning reef fishing and bonito catching. Lastly Ata spoke concerning cultivation of the land.

TOVI'S SPEECH

Ka ke ka moeia ha mehingo pe pe ke ma'u ha paka pa ha tafolo pe ko ha pesiloa pe hingavele pea oua naa femuni'aki ka omi ke fau ha kato ke au ki Fonuamotu.	If you should catch a *mehingo* (a kind of oyster), crab, *tafolo* (a kind of crab), *pesiloa* (another kind of crab), or *hingavele* (a shell fish), do not keep it for yourself, but bring it in a basket and send it over to Fonuamotu (the home of Tui Haa Takalaua).	643 276 574 537 539

ATA'S SPEECH

Tapu moe Afio 'oe Hau. Koe tala 'o Pangai 'e fai atu. Ke to ae ngatae, moe kaho, to moe au, ke tauhi aki a Pangai ke tokanga ae tangata ke to ngoue'i ae kelekele ke mahu, koeuhi koe tauhi oe Hau.	Sacred to the Majesty of the Ruler. The speech of Pangai will be given. Plant the ngatae, and cane, plant also the sugar cane, for the repair of Pangai and take note that each man must cultivate the ground to produce plenty of food for the upkeep of the Ruler.

and constitute the Haa Motuapuaka. See pages 38, 39.) The other name of 643
Motuapuaka was Molofaha. He is the chief of the present matapule. When the sovereign 644
has a kava ring with the chiefs, this matapule sits at the right side of the sovereign. [551]
If he cannot be present, he sends one of his brother matapules to represent him. It is said that these matapules came from Samoa with the mother of the first Tui Kanokupolu, who was a Samoan woman, the daughter of a chief named Ama.

NGATA AND THE HAA LATU HIFO

The following tale related by Daniel Faupula of Haakio, Vavau, tells 643
of Ngata the first Kanokupolu and two of his "brothers," the three being 173
called the Ulutolu (Three-heads).

The Tui Haa Takalaua Moungatonga had three sons, Vaoloa, Halakitaua, and Ngata. Vaoloa's mother was from Nuku's family. Halakitaua's mother from Niukapu's family. Ngata's mother was a woman called Tohuia, a daughter of a Samoan chief named Ama.

When these boys grew up, the Tui Haa Takalaua sent them to the chief Ata [a 643
probable anachronism] in Hihifo to make kava for him. They treated Vaoloa as 173
the highest chief of the first kava ceremony. For the next one, they made Halakitaua 276
the highest chief and the kava consequently belonged to him. At the third kava ceremony, 574
they made the youngest brother, Ngata, the highest chief. The boy was so young he did not know how to command his kava to be returned to his elder brothers in the same way they had given it to him, so he simply remained silent and of course the kava has been his ever since.

At the end of the kava ceremony the three boys went back to Fonuamotu where the Tui Haa Takalaua stayed. The Tui Haa Takalaua and his matapule saw the three boys at the distance, and the Tui Haa Takalaua said to the matapule, "Gentlemen, you may see those *ulu tolu* who are coming." *Ulu tolu* means three heads, and this was the origin of the phrase Ulu Tolu as applied to the Tui Kanokupolu and the chiefs Nuku and Niukapu. The three boys told the Tui Haa Takalaua how the kava ceremony had gone. The Tui Haa Takalaua was amused, and said, "It is all right. Let him have your kava, for his mother was a stranger [Samoan] to this place."

The boys grew to be men. Tui Haa Takalaua Moungatonga sent Vaoloa to 643
live with his mother's people over whom his son became the chief Nuku; and 173
Halakitaua was sent to his mother's people in Haapai, over whom his son became the chief Niukapu in Haapai. He sent Ngata to Hihifo and made him chief of that district, because he was the son of a stranger (Samoan). Ngata became the first Tui Kanokupolu.

The Ulu Tolu left Fonuamotu. When they got as far as Takoto they were all saying to each other, "Tau mavae a he," which means, "Let us part here." This was the origin of the chiefly name Kaumavae.

The name Haa Latuhifo, which means lineage of descending chiefs, was applied [613]
to Vaoloa and Halakitaua because they became lower in rank than Ngata who was made Tui Kanokupolu. This was the origin of the Haa Latuhifo.

When a kava ceremony is held, if Nuku and Niukapu are present, but no higher [276]
chief, both preside and one, instead of the usual two, matapule is sufficient. He sits [574]
between them.

FIRST FRUITS AND TRIBUTE

All of the land and its products were regarded as the property of the Tui 643
Tonga. In similar fashion, the land within the domain of the Tui Kanoku- 651
polu was regarded as his property, but subject, of course, to the demands 421
423

the man (or men) who brings the fish to take the portion to the Tui Kano- 643 kupolu. The Tui Kanokupolu then gives the bearer dry kava root and tapa. 651 In presenting the fish, either *atu*, or *vete*, the bearer says, "Ata sends these 622 fish." 226

At the *vete* fishing, Ata is sometimes present, sitting in the shade of a tree until all is ready. When Latukefu notifies him to come, the fishermen make a place for him in the middle of the line; Latukefu announcing that the moment for casting has come, Ata throws his net. At once all in line do likewise, making a fence of their nets, which are so skillfully thrown that one net just touches the next. To close the exit, the end man throws his net at right angles to the others. For a net thrower to overlap another's [686] net or to leave an opening for fish to escape would entail a thrashing by Ata, or some one detailed by him, and the tearing to pieces of his net. The [422] nets are the property of the fishermen and are said to have been so anciently. Not only when Ata is present at fishing, but also on later occasions, the [462] women remain behind in Kolovai, and assemble the necessary things for [276] preparing kava and take them where the men are fishing. Subsequent to the first catch of the season, it is the custom to present the first haul of *vete* to the women who have brought the kava. Ata receives his share of later catches, of which he may, or may not, send some to the Tui Kanokupolu.

The gathering of crustacea and shellfish, which is done chiefly by women, [462] was under the supervision of a petty chief with the title Tovi. Tovi, at the coronation of the Tui Kanokupolu, makes a speech relative to the gathering of shellfish and crabs. It is Tovi's special duty to have crabs and shellfish gathered for Ata, who forwards them to the Tui Kanokupolu.

Evidently lineages other than the Haa Ngata Motua had chiefs who, 613 like Ata, functioned as controllers of the food supply. It is said that Vaea 651 occupies a similar position in the Haa Havea, and that formerly Tamale 622 held the same position in the Tui Tonga's lineage. In their capacity of controllers of the food supply these three chiefs are called by other chiefs *tuakaifonua*, an ancient uncomplimentary term which means literally, "commoner eating the land," and which is said to be applied by chiefs who are jealous of this extensive control of food products. A more elegant Tongan designation for these controllers of the food supply is *pule fonua*, (ruler of the land). Anciently the produce submitted by Ata and Vaea to the Tui [643] Kanokupolu was in part transmitted to the Tui Haa Takalaua and to the Tui Tonga. That assembled through the efforts of Tamale went directly [643] to the Tui Tonga.

On certain occasions all of the chiefs of the Haa Ngata Motua and the 622 Haa Havea brought presents of food and kava to the Tui Kanokupolu, a 643 ceremony called *pongipongi* (literally, morning), though presentation took 651 place in the afternoon. When the Haa Havea or the Haa Ngata Motua de-

Diligent inquiry revealed no trace of the belief mentioned by Mariner 565
that the souls of *tua* perished at death, Christianity having endowed the com- 775
moner of to-day with a soul as imperishable as a chief's. 795

None of the many Tongans interviewed used the word *mua* (or the 565
plural form *kaumua*) as Mariner does, to designate a class intermediate be- 196
tween matapule and *tua*. They concur in applying *mua* to a person whose
two parents are of the rank of chief and matapule. Such offspring are
designated also as of *eiki* rank, if the chiefly parent is of high rank; or as
matapule, if the chiefly parent is low in the scale of chiefs. One inform-
ant defined *mua* as "persons who are placed above others of their rank be-
cause of certain superior blood in their veins." Sometimes the term *eiki* is
added to *mua*. Thus the late chief Tuita was spoken of as *mua eiki*, be-
cause his father as a navigator (*toutai*) was matapule and his mother, the
daughter of the Tamaha Amelia, was of chiefly rank.

The term *mua* is used also to designate the person in the king's kava 565
ring who is *eiki*, matapule, and *toutai* all in one. He may hold the first place 574
next to the king's matapule; no other chief can displace him, although a 276
chief of proper rank may seat himself next and crowd back all others on that 643
side of the ring. The person next the *mua* who is thus displaced is called 196
the *muaheke* (*heke*, to move on the posteriors while seated).

The word *mua* means also "one who leads or goes ahead" and in this 565
sense is applied to a matapule who goes to a place in advance of his chief, as 196
when taking kava to a house for presentation. Thus, Lotoaniu, the matapule
of the Tui Haa Teiho, would also be the *mua* of the Tui Haa Teiho. The
word *tuumua* denotes the principal person with a chief; *hulumua* means to
go with chiefs, to become a *mua*.

As the position which one occupies temporarily in an assemblage depends 565
upon the presence or absence of superiors, Tuita may serve on one occasion 554
as matapule to the king and on another may act as a chief and have a mata-
pule administer to him. In other words, the person of greatest importance in
an assemblage, even though of relatively low rank, becomes the president,
so to speak, of the assemblage, especially if there is kava drinking. But
some chiefs in Tonga are of such transcendant rank that they could on no
occasion serve as matapule even to superior chiefs. Thus Tupoutoa could
not serve as matapule to Tungi, his superior in rank. The fact that a chief
serves temporarily as a matapule does not mean that he permanently assumes
that rank, for real matapules, like real chiefs, have fixed hereditary titles.

I made several attempts to get lists of people grouped according to rank. 565
For people of higher rank, there was, of course, no difficulty; among the
people of chiefly blood, but without titles, the relative rank of individuals
was difficult to establish.

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

Tui Vakano to become a Christian was deprived of his title (*liukava* or *liua,* 622
to debase, to dethrone, to depose) by his outraged constituents—a procedure [798]
which suggests the Samoan practice. There probably were normally no assemblages
(*fono*) in which the people expressed opinions. In ancient *fono,* [621]
as in the modern *fono,* the people gathered to hear the orders of the chiefs,
not to debate.

The idea prevails that a chief is normally a large, portly person. On 622
one occasion my interpreter remarked, "Can't you see he is a chief? See 826
how big he is." 142

This observation corroborates Wilson (65, pp. 384, lxix):

> In their persons, the men of the superior rank all seem a larger race than ourselves, or the common people . . . . at Tongataboo more muscular, and affecting a more stately gait and superiority. . . . At Tongataboo some [women] were held in highest reverence, and Futtafaihe himself paid one elderly woman the same expression of homage which he received from every other chieftain.
>
> The submission paid to the chiefs, and the distinction of private property were much greater here than at Otaheite.
>
> At Tongataboo, the chiefs, to secure plenty, changed their abodes to other islands (65, p. 385).

Chiefs had many prerogatives. Special bathing holes, many of them wells 622
which required many men to dig, were reserved for the chiefs, though 515
occasionally a chief would allow certain of his retainers to use a bathing 312
well. A few wells, far from the establishment of the chiefs, were permitted
to commoners for bathing and drinking water. Should a commoner bathe [565]
in a chief's well on the sly, it was believed that he would become ill and [753]
die either from the swelling of his abdomen or of his neck. Women had [562]
special bathing places set aside for them. On Lifuka, Haapai, the beach
on the lee (western) side of the island was tapu to commoners for bathing.
Five wells—Utulupe, Vailupesia, Hoaheu, Teleki, and Onemato—all the
property and bathing places of former chiefs, have been described elsewhere
(25). It is related that at the well called Hoaheu the bathing chiefs were [541]
entertained by gladiatorial combats in which two commoners with clubs fought
until one was killed. It was at one of these wells, Onemato, that Mariner's
patron, Finau, bathed when on his way to visit his brother Tupouniua.

Of food, the chiefs, of course, had the best. First fruits and the first 622
of each catch of fish were brought to them. The milk of only small, quite 262
ripe coconuts was used by chiefs; a retainer presenting a large coconut was
liable to be knocked down or beaten. On occasions, such food as the hard [252]
Tahitian chestnut (*ifi*) was chewed to a pulp by an attendant before being
given to the chief to eat.

Visitors of low rank brought a gift of kava, which was handed to the 622
chief by his matapule. Failure to bring this gift resulted in a severe repri- 276
431

mand. Kava was also brought as a peace offering. A high chief, who was 622
coöperating with me in gathering data, left word for an old man to come to 276
our temporary residence, distant four or five miles. The old man failing 431 [123]
to come, a second messenger was sent with a threat of horsewhipping. 622
Thereupon the old man came as speedily as his years permitted, bearing a 687
large piece of kava. He was profuse in his apologies, saying that he did 576
not know whom it was that had requested his appearance. I noticed that [554]
servants of this chief in approaching bent low and that if he was seated [357]
near the door of the house they would make their exit through a window [516]
rather than pass near him.

A general tapu is placed upon the dishes and the remains of food or 565
drink of a person higher in rank. It was thought that one breaking this tapu 264
would suffer from sore throat, but the person of rank might offset the evil 784
consequences by stroking the throat of the unfortunate person with the hand [753]
(anciently also with the feet). This tapu which holds throughout Tongan [755]
society is particularly observed between a chief and his underlings. To eat
in front of a chief is likewise forbidden, the difficulties being avoided by
eating with the back turned to the chief (*kaitafoki*).

The head of a person, also the back, is tapu to one of lower rank; it 622
is tapu to pass close behind a chief. At big kava parties a great chief who 576
does not sit in the kava ring takes a position which makes passing behind 565
him unnecessary. 784 [826]

The food of a chief had to be prepared in a certain style and certain 622
portions of mammals or birds were regarded as belonging by special prerogative 262
to the chief. A roast pig is presented to a chiefly person in the following 252
manner: After the pig has been removed from the oven and placed
on its back on the hand barrow, sections of fresh banana leaves tied in place
by strips of banana leaf are wrapped about the extremities of the four legs,
the nose, and the region of the rectum. The purpose of this treatment was [784]
said to be the concealing of all those parts of the pig most in contact with
anything dirty or filthy. The four parts of a pig which are regarded as fit
food for a chief are in order of importance: (a) the back (*tua*), (b) the
head (*ulu*), (c) the rump (*tuungaiku*), (d) the chest (*fatafata*), spoken
of as the common part.

In serving chickens and pigeons to chiefs, the parts in order of importance are: (a) the rump with the oil glands (*muimui*), (b) the skin of the neck and back (*kiliikia*), (c) the legs (*alanga*), (d) the wings and chest (*hikehika*). I saw the operation of dividing a fowl for a high chief. The oil glands and the bit of skin near the rump were given him first. Then the skin at the base of the skull was broken with the fingers and stripped down the back of the neck on to the back.

is to be found in the story of Tui Tofua (26, p. 77), one version of which 622
specifically states that the first-born sons were Tui Tofua's associates. 554

A chief's virgin daughter seems to have been called *taupoou,* a Samoan [591]
term which is probably equivalent to the Tongan *taahine.* Girls, classed as [592]
taupoou, at times took part in dances, sometimes leading, and usually wore [535]
finer garments than their dancing associates. The *taupoou* or *taahine* chewed [291]
and made kava for visiting high chiefs. She did no cooking, but might [276] [574]
sweep the interior and the immediate exterior of the house. Orange juggling [252]
was one of her pastimes. There seems to have been no official *taupoou* as [356]
in Samoa. [526]

The term *manaia* (a man particularly successful in love affairs) which [831]
in Samoa is applied to the chief's son, apparently is not used in Tonga as [551]
a title, though evidence is conflicting, but is used in personal names. If *manaia* and *taupoou* were recognized positions in Tonga, undoubtedly early writers would have mentioned them.

Among special names for girls of rank those referring to the *lupe* or [551]
large fruit pigeon (*Globicera pacifica*) were often used. Two examples of [825]
such names for chiefly girls are Lupefolau and Lupepauu.

Special care was taken of the complexion of girls of rank. The following 622
processes were used: (a) *kaukautuitui,* the rubbing of the entire body with 554
chewed candle nut (*tuitui*); (b) painting of entire body, excluding lips, with 302
a mixture (*valienga*) of *lolo* oil and turmeric (*enga*). This was done twice 565
a week on alternate weeks and after several hours was washed off, and the skin dressed with oil, to produce a smooth glistening surface; (c) keeping in shade to prevent sunburn.

After bathing a chief's daughter previous to her retiring, her female attendants chew scented fruits and flowers, and mixing the masticated material with scented oil rub it over her body. [515]

A chief's daughter wore her hair long on every part of the head, and braided the side strands over the ears.

The female attendants upon the daughter of a chief did not allow her to [261]
eat too much. This tapu was enforced to prevent the overdevelopment of [826]
her abdominal region.

When a chief's daughter ate or sat in her house, she was surrounded 622
by a mat screen and seated on a high cushion (*fakamolu*) composed of mats 554
and soft tapa. The purpose of the soft cushion was to keep the skin of her 285
upper legs and buttocks soft and smooth, unblemished by any hard thickness 516
or marks that might result from sitting on a hard surface.

A treatment applied only to the daughters of high chiefs is called *fakatafa.* 622
After an evening bath and oiling from head to feet, the girl's legs were 513
tied together just above the knees with a piece of fine soft tapa, and she was 516
834
554

(*tehina*). J. Langoia Vahai was chief in 1862. J. Vahai died August 14, 1900. An 622
earlier Vahai bore the personal name of Toloaatonga. 173

Valu, chief of Utulau, Tongatabu. 551

Veehala, a chief of the Haa Ngata Motua, resident at Fahefa, Tongatabu. The 554
first Veehala was the son of Leilua (the son of the first Tui Kanokupolu Ngata and 613
of Kaufoou, the daughter of Ahomee). Punou Veehala was chief in 1862. Shadrach
Veehala (son of Ata), died March 26, 1893.

Veikune, a chief of the Sinae ki Mua. The name Veikune was made a title by King George II as a reward to Jiosateki Veikune, premier of Tonga from 1893 till 1904. The holder of the title in 1921 was the Governor of Vavau. Osaiasi Tonga Veikune died January 3, 1867. Jiosateki Veikune died October 17, 1913.

Vunivalu, the first Vunivalu mentioned in the Tamaha's genealogies bore the personal name Matausioehau, and was the son of a Tongan woman named Kalaepulevalu and a Fijian named Ate. He was succeeded by his son Uaisele (Wesley?) Fifita, and Fifita was succeeded as Vunivalu by his son Maafu, and Maafu was succeeded by his son Tupou. Hocart (32) derives the Tongan Vunivalu from Lakemba.

MATAPULES

The matapules (called by some writers petty chiefs) are, strictly speaking, 624 565
the titled ceremonial attendants of titled chiefs as distinguished from attendants [622]
in general (*takanga*). But like *eiki* (chief), the word matapule
has been extended in application to include all persons who are of matapule
rank by virtue of their blood, regardless of whether they hold titles or not.
Only one person in a family at one time holds a matapule title. Only a [622]
titled chief may have a titled matapule. Kava can be presented ceremonially [276]
only by a matapule; even a titled chief can present kava to the Queen only
through a matapule.

Some of the duties of the matapule are described in the sections "The [128]
court of the Tui Tonga" (pp. 63-71) and "Kava drinking" (pp. 156-168).

Like the titled chief, the titled matapule is the representative of the 565
first title bearer or ancestor. As a rule he serves the titled chief whose 622
ancestor his ancestor served. There is a very considerable range in the 624
power and influence of matapules, their positions being correlated largely
with the power and influence of the chiefs they serve. Thus to-day Lauaki [643]
and Motuapuaka are by far the greatest of the matapules, for they serve [644]
the sovereign Tui Kanokupolu. On the other hand the present matapules [643]
of the Tui Tonga exercise no such power and influence as did their predecessors [178]
in the days when the Tui Tonga was flourishing.

The matapules are related to both chiefs and commoners. The ancestor of 565
Lauaki is reputed to have descended from the sky with his brother Ahoeitu, 173
the first Tui Tonga, but most other matapule titles are traced to the advent 167
of some foreigner from Fiji, Samoa, Rotuma, or Tokelau. Just what significance
is to be attached to the absence of matapules from Niue and Futuna,
I do not know. Their absence from Uvea, Niuatoputapu, and Niuafoou is no
doubt connected with the feeling that the inhabitants of those islands are Ton-

but have served both the Tui Kanokupolu and the Tui Tonga. Filise Vaita- 565
iki was the present Kama's pre-matapule name. 173
167

At Nomuka Island on October 1, 1920, I witnessed the appointment of 565
a minor matapule to office by the governor of Haapai. During the ceremony 624
Pahulu received the title of Pilimokaupua, the name of a matapule from [123]
Maufanga, Tongatabu, and which refers to a little hill in Maufanga. (One [554]
informant said that the hill in Maufanga is called Kaupua and another that
Pili and Kaupua were two chiefs of Maufanga.)

After the governor had assigned the title, kava was served and the mata- [276]
pule was called by his new name. The last Pilimokaupua had no son, hence [553]
he was succeeded in title by his brother's son, Pahulu, who on his father's [428]
side at least was of matapule blood. By receiving this title the social posi- [554]
tion of Pahulu was materially enhanced and his rank advanced.

To-day matapules use staff and fly whisk like Samoan *tulafale*. When 565
addressing an assembly in which high chiefs are present, a matapule stands; 624
in a *faikava*, he sits; in an assembly where chiefs are not present, he may 622
sit or stand as he likes. A chiefly informant said that the use of fly whisk [516]
and staff by matapules is a late practice, that anciently these objects were [537]
used by chiefs only.

It seems to be the custom for the prospective heir to a matapule title 565
to serve as a substitute in the absence of the title holder. In the absence of 624
428
both the title bearer and the prospective heir, the relative next in line, even
such collateral relatives as cousins, may serve. A younger brother of a mata-
pule, serving in his place is called matapule *tehina* (younger brother).

The chief matapules of the Tui Kanokupolu are Lauaki and Motuapuaka 565
who reside in Tongatabu. Their representatives or substitutes in other islands 644
are: Haapai, Kofe and Afeaki; Vavau, Fotu and Afu Haa Laufuli; Niu- [551]
atoputapu, Sika and Kaufanga; Niuafoou, Masila and Haufano.

Mariner lists certain occupations which are followed by matapules. The [502]
occupation of *toutai vaka* or navigator was an important one. The two principal matapule navigators were Leka for the Tui Tonga and Ula for the Tui Kanokupolu. Like the great matapule Lauaki, Ula originally served the Tui Tonga, but was later sent by the Tui Haa Takalaua to serve the Tui Kanokupolu. An old poem tells how Ula and Leka bridge the gap between the Tui Tonga and the Tui Kanokupolu. Ulamoleka (that is, Ula and Leka) was a chief adopted by Leka. He said of himself: "Kauhalauta (Tui Tonga side) and Kauhalalalo (Tui Kanokupolu side) are far apart, but I am the one who brings them close together, referring to the fact that he had the names of the two *toutai*.

To-day songs are composed for various occasions. At one entertainment, 538
I listened to a chorus comprised of about twenty girls who sang under the 533
direction of the bard, and accompanied the singing with graceful movements 535
of the head, arms, and body above the waist. During much of the performance
the girls were seated. This corresponds with the statement of Father A. C. (46, p. xvi), who says in substance that

> To those songs they usually join bodily attitudes, hand clapping, or the accompaniment
> of instruments, etc. Besides the nafa—a wooden drum—and bamboos of many di- 538
> mensions, which are made to sound by striking them on the ground, there is a musical 533
> instrument, the fangufangu, a kind of bamboo flute of six holes, blown with the nose. 534
> The Pan-flute also is known, consisting of 8 or 10 reeds drawn together in parallel rows, but giving rather irregular notes.

To what extent these instruments were used as accompaniment to the
songs and chants of the bards in ancient times I do not know. Cook gives [535]
an illustration in which the singing and dancing is accompanied by the pounding of bamboo cylinders vertically upon the ground. A mat was sometimes struck with sticks at the termination of verses as in the epic entitled "The voyage of Kae" (26, p. 145).

Father A. C. (46) says that "there is no gathering without war or his- 574
toric songs, or without meditative songs or dances." But I think that in mak- 533
ing this statement he does not include the *fono* (assemblage to hear a chief's 535
orders) and the ceremonial kava drinking. In connection with these I have 622 276
never heard of singing, though kava drinking may be preceded or followed by an entertainment.

Tongans have a considerable vocabulary to designate bards and their 538
compositions. The terms *hiva* and *taanga* are used for songs in general; 192
fakatauaalo for a song or chant sung while paddling or doing other work; *fakanaanaa* for a lullaby (25, p. 6); and *lave* for a chant. In addition to the chant the Tongans also have the recitative, which they call *fakaniua*, a word which means "in the style of Niuatoputapu Island." Informants said the term was applied to poems in which big things, not small details, are portrayed. (See 26, p. 18.) The term *mau* denotes an epic poem, such as "The voyage of Kae." For the poets themselves the Tongans employ the words *mau* and *punake*.

Thomson (54, p. 378) characterizes Tongan poetry as "uninteresting in 538
that it generally treats of scenery and flowers, seldom of the drama of life, never of the drama of love"—a characterization which of course is purely subjective. The omission of the "drama of love" is particularly well brought out in one poem (16, p. 87), which is alleged to have been composed by a man who had hoped to marry a female Tui Tonga, but who was disappointed in this by the lady marrying a chief named Vuna. The poem, although addressed to the lady, contains not a single word of love, dwelling almost entirely upon the scenery, and upon recent political happenings.

chiefs are angry. Do anything that is right. "A king but blind." [Poet speaking.] 538

Oh! My mind is unsettled, as the wind, and not steady. The wonderment of it! To 539 leave the land in charge of a fool. What is it that will be timely (best) for the chiefs and the land? They run away and live, but I stay and die, because it is a mischievous land. What will they do when they drive their enemies to Hihifo and the people arise and throw spears, as they do at fish when caught in a net drive? [Mumui speaking.]

Oh! Then we will see the true friends. I thought that I was of some use, that I was familiar with difficulties, and that war was my food. But you do not want me, so I will sit down (no longer rule). [Mumui speaking.]

Angry be you. I will be weak. Why Tongatabu has already been left as a land of women. Alas! my lonely grief. You consider what is best to be done, as the chiefs are angry. Do anything that is right. "A king but blind." [Poet speaking.]

Perhaps I have sinned. Perhaps I have crept to a great chief. Oh, it is the fruit of living with a bad ruler (*hau*). Go, cheat and coward, and sit in the high place of the chief (referring to the kava ring), while I remain with those that serve; while I bear the brunt of your ill-doing. Alas! The joining of the strong hibiscus (chief) with the weak banana stalk (commoner). And is that the reason for the wish that I should come to punishment? If I had crept to your house, or if I had been rude to the Tui Tonga, or to the Moheofo (chief wife of the Tui Tonga), then it would have been right to punish me. When was I thus? And call it clever, and punish me that trusted to Lolopaongo (a high chief). "Why they are fetching men to fight in Hahake, to fight you." [Poet speaking.]

Angry be you. I will be weak. Why Tongatabu has already been left, as a land of women. Alas! my lonely grief. You consider what is best to be done, as the chiefs are angry. Do anything that is right. "A king but blind." [Poet speaking.]

There, bring the stars for Mumui, the Alotolu (part of the constellation Orion) and the Toloa (Duck, the Southern Cross), and all shining things; make afraid the wind and the breezes, because of Mumui. Bring Ongomalie (reef) and all the (other) reefs, and the thunder from the sky. The voyagers have left. Fear is at the back of the "regiments." Mumui is lord over all. Is there anything like this chief, or in keeping with his great dark mind? My trusting to him was of no use, and my kindness to him was not appreciated. Oh! do not speak again. Exile me to Toku Island. I love the ruler [Mumui], but it will be well for me to go as I am of no service. Stay (good-bye), Tongatabu. [Poet speaking.]

KAVA DRINKING

The traditional first use of kava in a drink is assigned to the reign of 276 the tenth Tui Tonga and to the island of Eueiki, near Tongatabu, and an 173 expression is attributed to this occasion, when the Tui Tonga's matapule said to the Eueiki people, "Fakaua ki Manuka hotau taumafa kava" (Have twice unto Manuka our kava drinking). Whether the Manuka referred to is the place in Tongatabu, or the one in Samoa is not clear. If the reference is to Tongatabu, Manuka may be the polite name for the Tui Tonga himself, in whose honor the people were enjoined to drink twice.

The drinking of kava is exceedingly common in Tonga to-day, reported to be more common than in heathen times. Aside from casual or social 276 occasions, kava was imbibed at all ceremonies, including marriages and 574 funerals. Installation in office or succession to title was legalized in the [585] kava circle by the calling of the new title when the kava was served to [764] [428]

the new appointee. This form of ceremonial installation (*fakanofo*) pre- 276
vailed from the Tui Tonga down to the lowest matapule. When a god 574
became incarnate in a priest, the kava circle was formed with the priest [428]
presiding. Matters to be discussed with the king or a high chief were [643]
broached at the king's kava circle, which comprised the principal chiefs at- [624]
tendant at his court. Some executions took place within the circle (26, [793]
p. 67). [622]

The formal drinking of kava has perhaps its most important social [681]
aspect in the visualization of the rank of the participants through the seat- 276
ing and through the order of serving. 574
554

With one or two exceptions, no chief might sit in the formal kava circle 565
without an attendant matapule. When the Tui Tonga, Tui Haa Takalaua, 622
or Tui Kanokupolu presided at a kava circle, he was flanked by two mata- 624
pule. In the formal kava circle only titled persons may sit; the president 643
of such a circle seems always to have been the title-holder of highest rank. 644
With the exception of the Tamaha and perhaps the Female Tui Tonga, who [562]
were title holders, women seem not to have presided in kava circles except at [585]
marriages.

The formal circle, therefore, comprises the assemblage of the representa- 276
tives of the ancestors, the first holders of the titles. The first holders of 574
the titles of Tui Tonga, of matapule Lauaki, of Tui Pelehake, and of Tui 769
Loloko, were the putative sons of a god, Tangaloa Eitumatupua; the original 776
554
holders of all other titles were the offspring of mortals. There seems, how- [793]
ever, to have been a certain equating of gods and ancestors, for a priest pos-
sessed by a god presided as would the king. Moreover the Tui Kanokupolu
is called Taliai Tupou, the name of his patron god. I suspect that the title
holders in the kava circle impersonate the ancestral first holders of titles and
perhaps are even regarded as their temporary incarnations. (For example,
Lauaki is called Maliepo, the name of his ancestor who descended from
heaven.) This probability is strengthened by the fact that whenever a chief is [622]
accompanied by his matapule, formal conduct is required of him. [624]
[576]

The following terms refer to the kava ceremony:

276

Alofi. The kava circle. 574

Apaapa. The alofi or circle of the Tui Tonga's kava party; the masters of cere- 192
monies in a kava party, that is, the matapules who sit on each side of the chief
who presides in the kava party; to sit next to the chief in the kava party.

Faikava. Literally, to do kava, a kava party.

Fakamatua. A movement from one sitting posture to another. For example, if [516]
a group of men in a kava circle are sitting tailor fashion (*fakataane*) so close
together that their knees are touching, and others come to join them, the presi-
dent may say "Fakamatua", at which every one turns to the right obliquely, thus
making room for the new arrivals.

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

Fakamuifonua. A method of making kava; a very formal procedure employed 276
only in the making of kava for the Tui Tonga, the Tui Kanokupolu, or an im- 574
portant chief. 192

Fakataane. The sitting position of the Tongan men, knees widely extended, flat [516]
on ground, feet folded beneath legs, body inclined forward, elbows across upper
legs, hands near lap, left hand taking care of lower garment (*vala*), keeping
it pulled up from behind and between legs when necessary, as when assuming
the position and rising. This was the ceremonial sitting position. At a *fono* or [689]
kava circle a commoner could be killed for shifting to the slightest degree from
this position. At times of entertaining it was extremely discourteous for a man [576]
to sit in any other position, unless he were infirm, or had some other physical [562]
excuse. It was tapu for a woman to sit in this fashion.

Fakatakape. To clean the bowl rim with *fau* fiber, as soon as the *fau* is thrown into the bowl. The *fau* is passed twice around the rim, wrung out, and thrown back and away from the mixer, as in the later part of the process.

Fakataue. To mix very strong kava in a new bowl and bathe the edge of the bowl repeatedly with the strainer, to give the bowl's interior the kava stain—a yellowish deposit which adheres to the bowl.

Fakatomo. The central tap root or body of a large kava root, not chopped into small pieces, but left intact. For a great chief's kava.

Fatuauho. Thick kava made from the small roots of the plant.

Fau. Fiber of the inner bark of the hau (*Hibiscus sp.*). A bunch of this fiber serves as a strainer.

Fono. The food or relish distributed at a great drinking of kava. The kava and [264]
the particular *fono* that accompanies it are distributed simultaneously, but the
food is nowadays not eaten, but collected again. Formerly it was eaten. Some-
times ten or more *fono* are served, according to the number of mixings of
kava. Should the same kava be used for a second infusion, an accompanying
fono is not required. The *fono* is divided into three lots by one of the two [624]
matapules who sit beside the presiding chief. The first lot is for the chief; [622]
the second and third lots, divided by the matapule, are for their respective
sides of the ring.

Kava. The plant (*Piper methysticum*); the drink made therefrom; a piece of the root from which the drink is to be made.

Luluki. The root of the kava plant.

Malumelmua. The order by the matapule who is master of ceremonies to the [624]
attendant who carves pork, instructing him to cut the back of the roast into
two equal portions.

Pelu. A drinking cup folded from the banana leaf, having two puckered corners [415]
tied with banana stem fiber. The drinker holds the cup by the two corners or
ears. Used for the drinking of kava on certain ceremonial occasions. Used
at the Queen's kava circle at her coronation. For most modern kava parties [415]
a half coconut shell serves as a cup.

Toua. The place behind the bowl in which sit the relatives of the chiefs who are in the kava circle.

Uhunoa. Refers to matapule not visiting a chief's house with a piece of kava, but going instead to other peoples' houses without kava.

DIFFERENCES OF PROCEDURE

The late rise of the Tui Kanokupolu makes the titles connected with 276
the kava ceremony for this office less ancient than many of those connected 574
with the ceremony of the traditionally older office of Tui Tonga. The Tui 643

Kanokupolu, or perhaps Tui Haa Takalaua, developed his own kava circle (fig. 1) as a secondary ceremony to that of the Tui Tonga. Along with it there arose minor differences of procedure. The two separate courts which thus developed were called metaphorically Kauhalauta (Inland-side-of-the-road), referring to the Tui Tonga; and Kauhalalalo (Shore-side-of-the-road), referring to the Tui Kanokupolu, and traditionally to the earlier Tui Haa Takalaua. The Tui Tonga's type of kava procedure seems to have given way everywhere to that of the Tui Kanokupolu, except on the island of Fotuhaa, where according to the informant Moungatonga, the Kauhalauta procedure is still followed. 276 574 643

In a formal kava circle in which the Tui Tonga presided, he received the second cup of the beverage, the first going to one of his matapules. The cup was carried to him in silence, his title not being called. In a formal kava circle in which the Tui Kanokupolu presides, the third cup is his. It is announced as "Ave ia maa Taliai Tupou" (Take it to Taliai Tupou). As Taliai Tupou is the name of the patron god of the Tui Kanokupolu, it would appear that the king impersonates the god. Anciently the Tongans poured out kava as an offering to the gods, as is done in Samoa to-day as an offering to the Deity. The kava drinking was the occasion for making welfare prayers. 776 782 171

In the accounts of the Kauhalauta procedure which follow no deity is mentioned. They appear to date from the time of the Tui Tonga, as reference to the Moheofo (the Tui Tonga's wife) indicates. The following translations are from a manuscript by the late Malupo, a matapule to the Tui Tonga.

> If it is the illness of the Tui Tonga, or the sickness of a chief, and the country is in trouble, then these words shall be used, in mixing the kava: "The kava is diluted." 276 574 782
>
> The person who is directing the serving says, "Diluted with a blessing." 643
>
> Then the mixer repeats: "The kava is diluted." 622
>
> The real significance is a prayer for a blessing by the means of the kava, because of the sickness of the Tui Tonga, or the illness of a chief, or any difficulty the land may be in. It is not right for any ordinary person to invoke the blessing. Only a chief, or a matapule who is a clever speaker, may do it; and it is not done at random; but only when the kava is diluted. At that moment he speaks.

> The kava ceremony is performed also when preparing for war, or during war, or for a voyage, or for work that is to be done. In addition to performing a kava ceremony when the Mohefo expects to be confined, a prayer (*lotui*) is said that the child may be a son, and many prayers are offered by the people. 782 276 574 721 505 461 843 842

This prayer may also be uttered:

"Kava ka hui."

"Hui moni monu, monitonu, ke tuu maupe, pea haohaoa, ae otu kaveinga. Pea tau hufia ki he Eiki ke toloi atu ae ngaohi aho, pea toloi atu moe ngaohi mahinga, pea toloi atu moe ngaohi tau, pea mo ha ngaohi tau; o laui kuonga, ne lakoifie o ene Afiona, pea lakoifie pe moe Tui Faleua. Pea matafipe Tonga, oua naa i ai ha aoaofia, aua naa i ai, ha malomaloaa, oua naa i ai ngalulu, pea leleipe a Lauaki, mo Motuapuaka, he koe faulalo oe fonua ke holo mai hona Hau, pea fulipe ki he futu ko Vuna."

"The kava is diluted." 276

"Dilute it with a blessing and may the blessing remain, and be perfect, like the cluster of stars. And let us intercede with the Chief that he lengthen out the days, and lengthen out the months, and lengthen out the years, and still more years; and may his Majesty remain well in health forever, and may Tui Faleua (Tui Pelehake) remain in health forever. And may the South [or Tonga] be swept clean, for there to be no overcasting of the sky, for there to be no shadow, and for there to be no trembling, and for Lauaki and Motuapuaka to be well, because they hold together the land in the coming of their Ruler and all to the *futu* tree of Vuna." 574 782 539

["Hold together the land (people)" is said to have been the parting command of the Tui Tonga Kauulufonua I to Lauaki and Moungamotua (the first Tui Haa Takalaua)].

In serving the chiefs and matapules in the Tui Tonga's kava circle, the titles are called as follows: "Ae kava a .... (title)" literally, ...'s kava). In the Tui Kanokupolu's kava circle they are called as follows: "Ave ia maa .... (title)" (literally, Take it to ....). In announcing in the Tui Kanokupolu's kava circle the matapule call the cups of the Tui Kanokupolu and of Ata loudly, but the cups of all others (including Ahio's) are called softly. 276 574 576 [554]

In delivering the cups of kava, it was forbidden in the Tui Tonga's ring for the servers to pass from one side of the ring to the other. There were two servers, one going to the right from the bowl, the other to the left. The servers announced the filling of each cup in the Tui Tonga's ring, whereas in the Tui Kanokupolu's ring it is announced by a man who sits continually at the side of the bowl. In the Tui Tonga's circle the server sat beside the bowl while the kava was strained into the cup. He turned his head and announced: "The kava is lifted." Then, when the recipient was designated by one of the officiating matapule, the server took the cup to him and sat down in front of him before presenting it.

In the Tui Kanokupolu's kava circle the first cup is taken usually to the "first" matapule at the Tui Kanokupolu's right hand, the second cup to the person sitting to left of the "second" matapule at the Tui Kanokupolu's left hand, and the third cup to the Tui Kanokupolu. The "right" matapule announces the third cup, the "left" the fourth, and so on alternately. After the third, the various chiefs are served in order of rank, then the matapules. The order of being served depends upon the composition of the kava circle, 276 574 576 565 that is, the precedence of a chief in the Tui Kanokupolu's kava circle might differ from his precedence in the kava circle of another chief. 276 574 576

In the Tui Tonga's kava circle the wooden kava bowl (*kumete*) is designated as *tanoa*. On one side of the outer surface of the bowl is a little raised block (*taunga*), usually triangular, perforated and threaded with a piece of cord by which the bowl may be suspended when not in use. In the Tui Tonga's kava circle the bowl was so placed that the *taunga* was towards the president, a position called *fulitaunga*. In the Tui Kanokupolu's kava circle the *taunga* is towards the kava mixer, a position called *olovahaa*, because the space (*vahaa*) between two legs of the kava bowl is towards the president. 565 276 574 415

In splitting a large root of kava with axe or crowbar, in the Tui Kanokupolu's kava circle, the roots are placed towards the president, the branches away. In the Tui Tonga's kava circle the position was reversed. In counting baskets of food the Tui Tonga (Kauhalauta) people touched the first and merely pointed to the rest (14, p. 210). "The first one is the Tui Tonga's and he alone is chief." 276 574 576

Food, as a relish (*fono*), is placed before the individuals in the kava circle. While of old, it apparently was eaten by the people to whom presented, at the present time it is removed and eaten by the *fahu* (sororal nephews or grandchildren). 276 574 264 [178] [604]

When the Tui Kanokupolu arrives by sea in another country or in a distant province, his navigator, in the place of the regular matapule, must direct the activities of the kava circle. He serves in this capacity for three mornings, in addition to the kava drinking when arriving. After that Motuapuaka, or one of his family, resumes his duties in the kava ring. 276 574 484 643 [302]

The following account by William Tungi, a grandfather of the present Prince Consort, relates the directions for the Tui Tonga's kava circle, said to have been formulated by Loau, the Tui Haamea, during the reign of the Tui Tonga, Takalaua, or immediately thereafter. 276 574 576 643

> These are Loau's directions: When the chiefs are assembled in the kava ring in the green of the Kauhalauta called Faoamanafa, on the left side [of the Tui Tonga] will be the Tui Faleua; on the right side [of the Tui Tonga] will be Tokemoana; Tafolo will sit at the turning in [*fasialofi*] of the right side of the circle; Lomulahi will sit at the turning in of the left side of the circle; and the Tui Haa Teiho sits at the end [near the kava bowl].
>
> It is forbidden to strike the wrong-doer at the kava drinking. There is a saying, "A sinner at the place of refuge." And it is forbidden to deprive the chiefs of the food portioned to them as relish (the carrying away of the relish), and it is loaded into carrying baskets. The relish food of the matapule may be taken away; and the younger brother may drink the kava. [681] [622] [264]

The following account of the kava circle of the Tamaha is translated from a manuscript by Elia Malupo, matapule of the Tui Tonga:

Formerly, when all were assembled in the kava ring at the green called Faoama- 276
nafa, there would be there the Tui Faleua (Tui Pelehake), the Tui Tonga, Toke- 574
moana, Tafolo, Tui Houa, and all of the Sinae; Tui Hoi, all of the Fale Fisi, the 576
Tui Haa Takalaua, and the Tui Kanokupolu; besides the Tamaha, who came first. 643
The Tamaha would preside, and the kava for them would be strained sitting; but the kava of the Tamaha would be strained standing. And if they conversed the Tui Tonga, the Tui Faleua, and Tokemoana, and all the chiefs would "ei" (an expression of respect) to the Tamaha. If the Tamaha were absent and the Tui Tonga presided, this respect would be shown him.

Now [in the time of King George I, when this was written] that the Tamaha is not there, who is the first in the land? It is Tupou Maeakafa (King George I Tupou). He has become the sacred person and the Tui Tonga, and the Tui Faleua must "ei" to him, and do to him the sacred ceremonies, and if he is not there then these ceremonies shall be done to the Tui Faleua.

This is the order given by Loau for the sacred ceremonies of the Chief [Tui Tonga]. And the kava ring faces him [the Tui Tonga] and the sacredness of persons commences with him and continues to the end.

Loau is said also to have formulated rules for the kava circles of the Tui Haa Takalaua and Tui Kanokupolu [probably an anachronism], which are given by William Tungi as follows:

Pea ne pehe ki he faikava oe faahinga o Moungamotua, moe Tui Kanokupolu, ke vahaai taha i toomatau, a Niukapu, pea vahaai taha i toohema, a Nuku; pea nofo ae faahinga Haa Ngata i he toua, o leo ae faikava. Ka i ai ha hia, ke tai, koe ta koia, oku fai aki ae sina, pe koe haamo, pe katai kava, oku lolotonga mama, ka oku tapu ke tukii, ka oku atape ke na fuhu. Pea ne hokohoko, ae tuku fakaholo ae kava, aia oku tau kea aki: "Koe tuku eni a Loau."

And he (Loau) said about the kava 276
ring of the family of Moungamotua, 574
and the Tui Kanokupolu, for Niukapu 576
to be on the right side, and Nuku on the
left side; and for the Haa Ngata to sit 643
in the *toua* (place occupied by the peo- 539
ple), and to guard the kava ring. If [681]
there are any wrongdoers it is their duty to punish them, which is done with the wedge for splitting up the kava, or with the stick for carrying burdens, or with the branch of the kava plant which has been chewed, but it is forbidden to thump them, and they must not fight. Then he gave the order in which the kava was to be given, which is introduced thus: "This is given according to Loau."

A manuscript in the possession of the late Maatu, Lord of Niuatopu- 276
tapu Island, was written by his father, the preceding Maatu, who relates 574
the following concerning his place in the kava circle of the Tui Kanokupolu, 576 643
George I. 264

The relish (*fono*) for the King and myself is two yams and an odd one. Put the back to them and bring them straight to the front.

Because of their sitting on either side of the King, it is Nuku and Niukapu who will receive the first relish. Then mine is brought because of my [genealogical] connection. Another chief is sitting between [me and the King], but the relish is first brought to me who is next. The head of the pig and the back are taken to the chief to separate.

When my kava is brought, it is delivered and kept. If the food is insufficient I 276
have to ask permission of the presiding chief to drink. 574

To smoke is forbidden for the lower matapule, but is allowed for the chiefs and 576
Motuapuaka on one side. If they are far from the King they may smoke a little. 643
The side of Lauaki is quite forbidden to smoke. 264
[689]

MAKING AND SERVING KAVA

The following account from living informants describes the making 276
and serving of kava at a modern kava party: 574
576

The matapule to the right of the president calls out, "Ui haa motokonaki," the command to assemble the proper materials for the making of kava. The things are brought and assembled at the end of the kava circle, opposite the chiefs, in front of the kava mixer (*ngahikava*), who has two attendants called *angaikava*, one on either side.

Then the matapule at the right of the president calls, "Hao ha tangata." This is the command for someone to come to him for the kava root. One of the *angaikava* responds, carrying the kava to the lower end of the circle, where it is pounded on a
stone anvil with a hammerstone. [Formerly it was chewed, a process called *mama*.] [178]

The pulverized kava is gathered by the two *angaikava* and placed on the mat to the right and back of the mixer. One of the *angaikava* then rinses the interior of the bowl, rubbing it with his hands—a process called *koukou i ai tanoa*. Another picks up the bowl by its rim, with his left hand, strikes its bottom with his right hand (an act called *hiki tanoa*), and places it before the *ngahikava*. An *angaikava* then pours the kava into the bowl from the right side of the mixer, who then places a doubled mat or a piece of tapa, or other material, under him, so as to be in position to lean well over the great bowl. This act is called *lango lango mei*.

The mixer, with graceful flourishes of the hands, mashes the kava together in [195]
the bowl, spreading it out over the inner surface of the bowl, and tipping the bowl
slightly away from him, his hands on either side of the rim, exposes its interior to [643]
the president, calling, if the president be the king (Tui Kanokupolu), "Holo ae taumafa ni" (Knead this drink), or "Kuo holo kava ni" (This kava is kneaded), if the president is below the king in rank.

The right hand matapule answers: "Kuo holo: tukuatu" (It is kneaded: Lower the bowl, which has been tilted towards the matapule) "Tuumalie pe kae palu." (All right, mix). "Tafoki kimoua" (Turn), addressed to the two helpers on either side of the bowl, who turn inwards. "Ai haamo vai" (Put in your water), at which many people run for water, the helpers shouting, "Vai!" (Water!) to the people in the *toua*. Those who first bring water, in coconut shell containers, deposit it before the bowl. The right hand helper then takes water and pours it into the bowl, while the mixer kneads the kava in the water. "Vaitaha" (One water) (almost enough). One helper ceases to pour water; the other alone applies water. "Taofi vai" (Stop pouring water). They stop adding water. "Palu fakatatau pea tui haafakamau" (Mix equally) and "tui haafakamau" (probably a method of twisting the *fau* fiber strainer). With a double flourish of the hands the mixer mixes the kava and ends abruptly, resting his hands on the edge of the bowl.

Then the right hand helper throws the *fau* fiber strainer on the bowl. In this kind of a kava party the strainer is very large and is called *uwu*. With more hand and arm flourishes the mixer wets the *fau* and wipes the edge of the bowl, being very technical and formal in his movements. Then he begins to strain the kava, a process called in this ceremony *milolua*. He carefully and slowly pulls the strainer through the water with both hands. He then raises it, one end in his left hand, twists it and lays the twisted fiber on his left foream, the one end still clasped in his left hand. Then he reaches under his left arm with his right hand, takes hold of the end of the

276 574 576 strainer lying on his arm, and with magnificent flourishes wrings the liquid from the strainer into the bowl, turning his hands about each other in the process with great grace and skill. After shaking the pieces of kava out of the strainer on a mat at his right, he repeats the operation, when, instead of shaking the kava particles (*efe*) out of the strainer, he throws strainer and all behind and away from him, with force, regardless of who may be sitting behind.

Then the right hand helper, signifying that the kava is ready, calls: "Maa e kava ni" (This kava is clear).

The right hand matapule answers: "Tokonaki o fakatau" (Prepare to serve, wring out the kava). Then men from behind the mixer come forward with the cups. These servers are called *fakatau kava*, as also is their serving of the kava (*fakatau*, the man who wrings out the kava into the serving cups; to wring the kava into cups for drinking). As they hold a cup over the forward edge of the bowl, the mixer squeezes the kava from the restored *fau* strainer into it.

The right hand helper chants: "Kava kuo heka" (The kava is taken up).

The right hand matapule chants in answer, "Ave ia maa . . ." (Take it for . . . naming the one to be served). The first cup goes to the left hand matapule. Each time the chants are repeated. The second cup goes to the man to the right of the right hand matapule. The third cup goes to the king or president.

When the matapule indicates the president as next to be served, his chant is changed to, "Omi ia ki heni maa . . ." (Bring it here for so-and-so). After the president is served, the cup goes first to the right, then to the left, alternately, down the circle.

[643] Should the king be presiding, before the circle is completely served, the matapule calls out to serve the "king's brother," not necessarily the true relative, but one possessing that title. This person sits behind the kava mixer outside the circle, in the first row of commoners. After the "king's brother" is served, the matapule chants, "Mai ia ma'akū" (Bring it here for me), upon which he himself is served. Then the remainder of the circle is finished.

Then the right hand helper calls out, without chanting, "Kava kuo heka" (The kava is taken up), signifying that he himself wants a drink.

The matapule answers, "Auia" (It is yours), not chanting.

After the two helpers have had cups, the right hand helper calls out, if the president be the king: "Toe e taumafa ni" (This is the remainder of this drink), or if the president be other than the king: "Toe kava e" (This is the remainder of the kava). With this the last cup is filled.

The matapule answers, "Tuku ia maae tau kava" (Leave it for the server of kava), at which the mixer drinks the last cup. The kava bowl is removed from the circle by one of the attendants.

Then the "king's brother" comes forward into the circle, sits on the right side of the right hand helper, who calls: "Koe ngata e emau mau kava ni" (This is the end of this portion of our kava), the announcement that the party is finished. Then the matapule calls out: "Hiki ae toua" (Shift the people from behind the kava bowl). The circle breaks up. This is the signal for the removal of the apparatus, and for the people in the *toua* to go.

If the kava party is to be immediately repeated, all of the detail is repeated. Very often the strainings (*efe*) of the first kava are used for the second infusion.

In the Tui Kanokupolu's kava circle a person claps twice when his kava is called; in ordinary kava circles once.

[644] [643] Collocott has given me the following account of kava drinking at Nafualu, Tongatabu, in February, 1921. Though the Queen and the Prince Consort Tungi were present, apparently the ceremony was not strictly formal.

Tungi took no part in the kava circle, but went about other matters. Ata sat 276
off by himself, to the left as one faced from *alofi* to *toua*, and was in charge of things 574
generally, being called the *leo ae kava* (guard of the kava). He corrected mistakes
of the matapule who was calling. Lamatau was the *tauhi ae kava* (steward of the 576
kava). There were few chiefs present, but a number of matapule on either side of 643
the Queen. 644

The food was brought, laid before the Queen, and counted. In counting kava roots distinction was made between different sorts that seemed pretty much the same. Different names were given to the presented kava roots; for example, *kava toho*. [The ceremonies for different types of kava are said to have minor variations.] When the bowl was brought into the *toua* to brew the kava it was wet, evidently having been rinsed round with water on the inside. The kava used had been beaten up beforehand, and was there all ready in a bundle.

The baskets of food and so forth that had just been presented were between the Queen and the bowl. When the kava had been put into the bowl, men were called to make a clear open track from the bowl to the Queen by removing the baskets in the straight line between them, a little to the side. This is called to *fakaavaava*. The bidding of the matapule to the men who are to do it being, "Koe ngaue ni ke fakaavaava" (This work is to open up). After the matapule had finished giving his instructions as to the brewing of the kava these baskets were shifted back to their original positions and the little open track again closed up. This is called *fakamaopoopo* or *fakalelei*, to gather together, or to arrange or put right. The matapule who had been doing the calling then gave the large lots of kava roots, which had just been presented with the food and were on the ground in front of the *alofi*, to another matapule, Takapu, who thereupon ordered all the food and kava roots between the Queen and the bowl to be taken away, and they were removed clear away to the side.
Previously, four bunches of ripe plantains wrapped in banana leaf had been brought [262]
out, and opened, and plantains presented to those in the *alofi*. A whole bunch was
taken to Ata, without being opened. These were left before those to whom they were
presented for a minute or so, and then collected, and taken away.

In the straining of the kava a very large fau fiber strainer was given to the 276
man who did the straining, who after making the first straining threw the whole bundle of fiber on to a mat to his left and a little behind. Others then shook out the scraps of kava, divided the strainer into three parts, and then kept the man who strained going with a piece which had been shaken out. He himself did not shake the kava out of the strainer, but merely put the strainer down on the mat, when a piece already shaken out and clean again was at once given to him, and those who did this part of the job shook the just used piece. Towards the end of the straining he shook out pieces of kava from the strainer himself, but on to a mat on his right side. A man sat at the side of the bowl and scraped off on to the ground the dregs of kava that washed up on to the lip of the bowl as the kava was strained. The strainer himself gave a good sweep round that could have left very little on the edge, and then this other man scraped off to the ground any dregs still left. He sat on the right of strainer, and did not seem to bother about scraping any part except that which was quite conveniently close to himself.

The Queen's kava was served first. The Queen clapped her hands when her 276
name was called. After the main personages had been served, others had a drink, 574
amongst them some old ladies well down to the left in the *alofi*. The matapule did not 576
know their names and would ask them as it came to their turn to be called. One old 643
lady gave the name of Lelenoa, which is the name of one of Tungi's matapule, but
this was not allowed, and she had to get another name. The name of Lelenoa can [551]
be used only on the right and not on the left hand side, as Lelenoa's place is on the
right.

At the end, when the last cup was filled, the one who called said, "Koe toe oe tau- 276
mafa" (The remnant of the feast), and it was given to someone. 574
576

Then Lamatau came and sat in front of the *toua* and said, "Fakafetai emau mau kava" (Thanks for the kava). [Lamatau is related to Vahai.] 276 574

The matapule ordered, "Hiki ae toua" (Shift the people from behind the kava bowl), and the *toua* accordingly shifted. 576

An old lady, Lizzy, who was related to Ahomee (perhaps a daughter of a former Ahomee), was turned out of the *alofi* because she wore a necklace as well as a shawl. She protested, saying that Ahomee, who is *fae* (literally, mother, but here mother's brother) of the chiefs of the Tui Kanokupolu's court, could sit wherever he liked in the Tui Kanokupolu's kava circle. Ahomee himself could have sat in the *alofi*, but none of his sons or daughters. [291] [301] [689] [602]

I heard of a woman, Pauline Tui Lalotonga of Nomuka Island, taking the seat of her deceased brother, whose name was Fotu. [I am not certain whether this is a title or merely a name.] At a *faikava*, Pauline's bowl would be called out for Fotu, while those of her two sisters would be called by their names.

PRECEDENCE IN THE KAVA CIRCLE

At an ordinary gathering, no attention is paid to position of individuals according to rank, but in the formal kava circle everyone has a definite seat. After the ring is formed, it cannot be broken except by the chief, Ata. At his behest, the chiefs may arise and form the ring again should he consider it too small and the members of it seated too closely. 276 574 576 554 622 643

Ata supervises the kava party of the Tui Kanokupolu. In this role he is called *pule* (governor). Veehala is the *leokava* (chief guard of the kava), [689] and his sons act as police who admonish a person sitting wrongly. Vahai's sons act as ushers. It is Ata's duty, should a chief take the wrong place, to send one of the sons or grandsons of Vahai or Veehala to inform the person of his mistake. "Chief, you are in the wrong place. Your seat is over there." If this is insufficient, Ata himself moves forward a bit, shifting his weight to his hands and remaining seated, for to stand would be an offense to the Tui Kanokupolu, and speaks to the chief. Should Ata's men (the offspring of Vahai and Veehala) who are back of the kava bowl see a person out of place they tell Ata, walking outside the circle in stooping posture; they have no right to themselves correct the mistake. [689] A chief or matapule who does not obey the order to move is liable to be pulled away from the ring, more or less manhandled, and forbidden to be present at that occasion. Motuapuaka, or Lauaki, can order one on his side of the ring to stand up and give his place to another chief.

Should either of the officiating matapules show incompetence, it would be bad form for Ata to scold him in the presence of the Tui Kanokupolu, but he must have him to his residence later and there reprimand him. [689]

The order of serving of kava on the occasion of the appointment (*fakanofo*) of the Tui Kanokupolu in 1918 was as follows (fig. 1, page 96): 276 574 576 643 554

(1) Lauaki, (2) Nuku, (3) Tui Kanokupolu Charlotte, (4) Motua- 276
puaka (?), (5) three persons on left side of ring, (6) Momotu, (7) three 574
on right side of ring (8) Kapukava, (9) Veehala (to his matapule), (10) 576
three on left, (11) three on right, (12) Maafu (to his matapule), (13) 643
three on left, (14) three on right, (15) Ata, (16) three on left, (17) three 554
on right, (18) Vahai, (19) three on left, (20) three on right, (21) Tungi (first in *toua* to get kava), (22) three on left, (23) three on right, (24) Vaea, (25) three on left, (26) three on right, (27) Tolo (in *toua*).

The entry Tui Haa Takalaua in figure 1[A] probably means some Haa Takalaua chief, as to-day there is no Tui Haa Takalaua. If there were, he could not sit in the Tui Kanokupolu's kava ring, because of his higher rank, but he could either sit outside of the circle altogether, or be president of it. If president, the kava circle would become the Tui Haa Takalaua's. The status of the Tui Tonga would be analogous; a kava party of the Tui Kanokupolu's with the Tui Tonga or Tui Haa Takalaua in the ring is inconceivable. On the other hand, in the Tui Kanokupolu's kava circle there do sit chiefs related to the Tui Haa Takalaua (Luani and Fotofili, for instance) and to the Tui Tonga.

An account written by the late John Panuve Maatu, the lord of Niuatoputapu, gives a somewhat different order for the Tui Kanokupolu's kava circle:

> Motuapuaka or one from his family or Afu Haa Laufuli or one from his family sits on the right hand side of His Majesty. Then next is Niukapu, then Luani. Then Lavaka, then Tui Haa Teiho, then Lasike, and then Fohe. In between every two chiefs a matapule must sit, for it is not right for two chiefs to sit together. Then at the appointed places of this side sit Maafu Tukuiaulahi and his matapule, and further away from this place sit Vahai and his matapule. Near the kava makers is Tupouleva and the children or grandchildren of Motuapuaka and Afu. They fill in the places of the chiefs of this side.
>
> On the left hand side of His Majesty sits Lauaki or one of his family. Then next sits Nuku, then the Tui Lakepa, then the Tui Haa Ngana. Then comes next Fotofili, and thereafter Tui Afitu. The Tui Pelehake and Maatu please themselves for a place to sit, on either the right hand side or left hand side, but they cannot sit in the appointed places of Niukapu and Nuku if they are there; and the same with the chiefs of the Fale Fisi. They have no appointed place, but they cannot take a place already appointed to someone else. In their appointed places sit Veehala and his matapule and further away from this place sit Ata and his matapule. And the children or grandchildren of Lauaki, or the fishermen and navigators, fill in the places of the chiefs of this side.

If a chief such as Ata, Veehala, Maafu, or Vahai is absent, his place 276
may be left vacant. The station of Vahai's sons who act as police is behind 574
the bowl (fig. 1),[A] and with them sit the sons of Ata, Veehala, Ahio, and 576
Kapukava. During the ceremony only Vahai's sons may get up and then 643
only for "police" duties as Ata's messengers. The relatives of the highest 622
chief (the president) sit behind the bowl. This sitting outside the ring is 554

[A] [See category 116, p. 96--Analyst]

out of respect to the highest chief. Thus Tungi's sitting outside the coronation kava ring in 1918 was to show respect to the Tui Kanokupolu (Tungi's wife). Tungi had a matapule near him, however, a departure from the custom of the preceding Tungi. 276 574 576 643 622

Veehala, Maafu, Ata, and Vahai are chiefs who hand their kava to their matapule. Both chiefs and matapule receive the kava with both hands held low. Each matapule sits on the side of his chief away from the king. When the chief passes his kava to his matapule, he does so with one hand, so that the back of the arm is toward the king. The matapule receives the kava with both hands, holds it a while and then returns it to the chief, who receives it with the same hand with which it was passed. The chief then drinks it. The handing of the kava to the matapule is a sign to the one serving that the matapule must not be overlooked. To do so would be an offense to the chief and would be a cause for war. 554 276 574 576 643 622 624 554 [721]

Precedence is very important. If there are, for example, two Moala in the ring and the matapule who is serving does not know their distinctive appellations, both may clap their hands when the name Moala is called. The serving matapule then calls for two cups to be filled. If one of the Moala wishes to argue over the matter, he calls for the servers to stop. The order of precedence is then discussed and settled. 276 574 576 554 624

All food and kava, brought in *haamo* fashion (on shoulder poles) was deposited before the president in a long row, horizontally facing him. When placed before the president, his matapule chanted, each in his alternate turn, at time intervals of a few minutes: "Fakafetai toho kava; fakafetai fanga puaka; fakafetai ngaue" (Thanks for the *toho* kava; thanks for the pigs, thanks for the ovens of food). 276 574 264 [624]

FUNERAL KAVA CEREMONIES

The following account of funeral kava ceremonies for a great chief is derived from a manuscript by the late John Panuve Maatu, chief of Niuatoputapu: 276 574 764 622

> At a funeral, Lauaki serves at the kava parties till the time of the placing of small stones on the grave (*lanukilikili*). Then Motuapuaka takes his place. Thereafter the kava and the cooked food are brought to the grave.
>
> This is the way of thanking the matapule one after the other when all is ready: "Thank you for *kava-noo* (kava bound together). Thank you for *kava haamo* (kava carried on the shoulders). Thank you for *kava hula* (huge kava). Thank you for *kava toho* (kava too large to be carried, but dragged on the ground)." 276 574 576 764
>
> This is the manner of thanking for the work, one thing after another: "Thank you for *ngaue* (a word applied to the preparing of food in a native oven). Thank you for the *feiumu fakahunga* (very large food). Thank you for the *feiumu hula* (huge food). Thank you for the *feiumu toho* (food too large to be carried, but dragged on the ground)."

This is the manner of thanking for the pigs: "Thank you for all pigs [except 276
puaka haamo]. Thank you for the *puaka haamo*. Thank you for the *puaka hula*. Thank 574
you for the *puaka toho*." 576

If there are any ripened bananas [bananas ripened by wrapping in banana leaves], 764
"Thank you for the ripened bananas." Then next is the Tongan pudding (*faikakai*), [262]
then next is the *too* (shellfish), then the melons, and all things from the land and lastly
other things from the sea.

If there is a kava for the women, then this is the order of the thanks: first is the *kie* mat, then the *fihu* mat, then the *kumi* black tapa, then the white tapa (*ngatu taahine*), counted in the thanks for tapa making. Then next are the *fala* mats, then the *efu* mat, then the *kie Tonga* mat. And the last word of thanks is said, "Then thanks for the work done. Thanks for the goods."

After the thanks, the matapule who directs the activities says, "Come, look at the cooked food." Then the thanks are said like this, "Yams, good work."

If there is to be any kava drinking at the funeral then the officiating matapule says: "Get all your things in the *toua* ready." Then after that he says, "Someone come. Keep that kava to be made."

But first he asks the president (Tui Kanokupolu) which kava is to be taken and made.

After the kava is beaten the matapule expects the kava to be made known. Then he says to the persons in the *toua*, "Come, let the work be shown" (so that the king can see the kava better).

After that the man who makes the kava turns sideways and says, "The food (drink) is ready." Then the directing matapule, if it is plain to him that the kava is enough for the kava bowl or kava drinkers, says "Deliver, it is ready. Slow, till mixed. Turn, you two; call for water." When the matapule thinks there is enough water, he says, "First water." Then one stops pouring the water and holds it out. Then it is understood by the matapule that there is enough water and he says, "Stop the water, and mix. Examine and fix the strainer of the kava ready to serve." After he says, "Stop the water," then the remaining unused water is taken away. And when the kava strainer is ready, the matapule says, "Mix below and give him the strainer for the kava."

During the time the strainer is in use Motuapuaka takes the opportunity of talking to the people or one of his family does so, or Lauaki or a navigator, if it is his turn for directing. If the king says the kava is not sufficient, then the matapule asks the kava maker, "Is the kava ready or is there not enough?"

If it is answered, "It is not enough," he will say,

"Put the strainer in the kava bowl, bring it to the front, and someone come and take more kava."

The matapule knows when enough kava or too little is in the kava bowl and it is plain to the matapule whether or not to serve the kava in a banana-leaf cup. He will ask this way, "Is there enough kava in the kava-bowl?"

If it is answered, "The bowl is not big enough," he will say,

"Look for another bowl." And that is brought and one of the men from the kava makers divides the kava and takes it to the new bowl.

Then the order is given from the chiefs near the bend of the kava ring, and it is not allowed for Motuapuaka and Lauaki (the Tui Kanokupolu's matapule who do the announcing) to speak standing up.

Then their remarks are prefaced like this: "I am going to say a few words. Tapu [554]
[used by inferiors to superiors, meaning "sacred to thee"] for the Tui Haa Mounga [195]
who attends and tapu for the Haa Siulangopu and Latu Hifo, and tapu for the Maliepo
and Molofaha, and tapu for the Haa Vaea and tapu for the Haa Ngata Motua and Haa
Ngata Tupu, and tapu for the Haa Havea, and tapu for the Haa Maafu, and tapu
for the chiefs all present, and tapu for the *toua* chiefs." [The *toua* is the place behind

those mixing the kava, where sit the relatives of chiefs.] Then he starts his speech. 276
And when the strainer is in the kava there is no speech and it is not allowed to talk at 574
the time the reigning prince (*hau*) is drinking, for it is for him they are making the 576
speech.

After the straining of the kava, the strainer is thrown again to the kava bowl and 764
the matapule who directs says: "You come, make the cooked food good." When that is finished he says, "Count the cooked food."

And this the way of counting the work. They start with the food to be carried called *umu kavetau*, next the food called *umu fakahunga*, next the food called *umu hula*, next the food called *umu toho*. Then after that the pigs are counted. First he counts the pigs (*puaka*) in the earth oven, next the *puaka haamo*, next the *puaka hula*, next the *puaka toho*.

The same counting is done with the kava, just as explained above in the "thanks." Then after it is counted and the quantity is made known, the matapule is informed by the king to keep one oven of food (*feiumu*) to eat when they are drinking kava. Then three other ovens are assigned. The oven in front is kept for the king and Motuapuaka who divides for the chiefs of one side. The second oven is kept for Lauaki who divides for the other side. The third oven is kept for Veehala, beyond the bend of the kava ring.

They first fix up the oven of food for the king (Tui Kanokupolu) and Motuapuaka and when that is finished they then turn out the oven that has been kept for the side of Lauaki.

Then Motuapuaka speaks, saying, "Someone stand up and bring three yams, also the back of the pig and put it in front for the kava-drinkers." The head of the pig is the relish (*fono*) for Motuapuaka. Then the relish is divided amongst the chiefs of his side. And the same is done for the side of Lauaki and his chiefs, but the first chief [King] gets the back, as Motuapuaka gets the head for himself.

It is allowed for the matapule who sits between the chiefs to call someone from the kava makers to get the relish (*fono*), leaving aside the king's share for a certain person to take or leave. The relish that is kept for Veehala is turned out on his side, and the rest is taken to Maafu Tukuiaulahi where it is divided. For Ata and his side the same is done. Then the rest is taken to Vahai and thereafter the basket is thrown out.

When they clap hands for the kava, the matapule who delivers the kava says, "Young men come, prepare the kava and serve the cooked food. Keep it for the kava of (naming person to receive it) and set it to the side." And after taking the kava aside, they deliver the kava and this is the way of delivering. If the kava and cooked food are served together, the king drinks the first cup. If the kava and the cooked food are not served together, the king drinks the third cup, but as to that the king lets them know, for he can do what he likes.

First the chiefs drink, then the matapule in between. After four of each side drink then Veehala's kava is next. After that one of each side drinks, then Tolo's kava is next; but if Matafahi is absent, they also omit Fakailoatonga's kava and he drinks later when it is delivered to him.

Then one from either side drinks, then Maafu Tukuiaulahi is next. Then one from either side drinks again and Ata's kava is next. Then one from either side drinks and next is Vahai. And after that two from either side drink then the kava of the Haa Havea in the *toua* is served. Then two from either side drink. Then next is the Haa Ngata Motua, then two from either side. Then next is the kava of the Haa Ngata Tupu and so on; but the matapule who delivers sees that the two sides drink together. And so he continues this way of delivering for all the chiefs until the kava is finished.

When the kava is finished, then one comes from the side of Vahai to the middle and says: "That is all of our kava we can offer." Then the matapule who delivers says, "Take the *toua* away." Then the kava drinking is finished.

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

431 wrapped about their waists so that their arms were held far out from their sides. Six 585 men carried a huge bundle of tapa and mats by means of three long poles. Eight [285] women carried a huge mat, probably 12 feet wide and 40 feet long. The procession [482] moved slowly and was bound to the house of George Kupu, who was married the day before.)

Then a kava circle composed of relatives was formed, the bridegroom presiding, the 585 bride seated at his left, each of them seated upon the lap of either of their two officiating 276 *fae*, the bride usually sitting on the lap of her male *fae*. 574

Only one bowl of kava was served. Following that came the distribution of the 585 presents (*vahevahe*). The *ngaue* was first distributed among the assembled relatives of 431 the bridegroom. The bride's relatives later received their share of the bridegroom's [276] present to her people, at the hands of the bride's father or other officiating family representative. In this distribution of food the ranking members of the consanguinary group [554] received the best parts, and so on in ranking order. If there was not enough to go around, the lesser representatives of the group went without, or the bridegroom's father might feel it his duty to supply food for these from his own oven.

Then the *koloa* was divided into two equal parts and distributed, but not until the bridegroom had selected in proportion to the amount a number of articles to be used in his own house. The bride also chose a like share of the man's presents to her people. In distributing the presents, the bridegroom's father or other official representative of his people (according to some informants it was the father's sister who distributed the wealth) had in mind what each person had donated toward the present that had been given to the bride's people, and each got his original gift returned in double quantity. In accomplishing this return, the distributor often stripped his own house of all its 585 possessions, counting the social prestige of his family of greater value than his material 554 property. If he should fail to complete the traditional remuneration to all concerned, his 431 unmarried sons and daughters and the progeny of his married children lost face and might consequently fail to contract desirable marriages. If the distributor had insufficient goods to meet the demands, he set his household to work making tapa, mats, baskets, oil, and other articles required.[5]

A similar distribution was made of the presents of the bridegroom's people to the bride's people.

If there was great inequality in the size of the wedding gifts, the group making the smaller donation was shamed and lost social prestige to the other group. It is not to be implied that this portioning out of the *koloa* took place in one day. It began immediately after the breaking of the kava circle, but it often lasted a month and even two months.

Throughout an entire marriage ceremony, the bridegroom's father, or nearest paternal relative if the father were dead, was vested with peculiar authority. 585 This office is said to have had no name. He was the proper one to announce the date on which the ceremony should begin. He denied the bridegroom the privilege of consorting with the bride until an appointed time. On the first night (third night?) after the exchange of gifts, he instructed the bridegroom to test the bride with his finger to determine if she were a virgin. This testing was called *moheakii*. If her virginity was confirmed, this [554] man stated the period of time that must elapse before the bride and bridegroom might [565] live together as man and wife, anywhere from three days to two months, the length of the period of continence being in direct ratio to the bridegroom's social rank. A *tua* slept with his wife on the first night.

The specific night on which cohabitation took place was definitely determined by the progress of all preparations. The presents had to be apportioned, food for the following feast had to be ready, and minor details of preparation had to be attended to. Near the end of the prescribed tapu period, the father determined through his wife when all preparations would be complete. He then informed the bridegroom that the night was at

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[5] Suggestive of the potlatch system of the north Pacific coast of America.

The reply is given, "We, Motuapuaka and Lauaki; we have come in attendance on Vaoloa" (or whatever may be the bridegroom's name). Then the maiden comes out, and goes with the bridegroom, and this [untranslatable] invocation is uttered, "Tula-no lomai-saiena, tietia i le tafatusema. Singano e tu'u, fa'a mumuni, sa pule mo sa manatu." And they call the names of the bride and bridegroom, "Vaoloa e, Vaoloa e, Takala e, Takala e," or whatever they may be. Individuals have more than one name, but the names used on this occasion are those that are held in esteem. Then they cry, "Mimisoe, mimisoe, alaimafae, alaimafae, asapae, asapae," following this with a loud shout. Someone keeps shouting, over and over again at the top of his voice, "ai, ai, ai, ai," until they come to the bridegroom's house, where an abundance of food has been prepared. Kava is drunk at the bridegroom's house, the bride being the president of the ceremony. If Lauaki and Motuapuaka each has a daughter, the daughters distribute the kava, and continue to perform this duty until the end of the marriage ceremonies. If Lauaki and Motuapuaka have no daughters to do this, they themselves control the distribution. One basket of food (*fono*) is brought to distribute with the kava, the remainder of the food that has been prepared is taken to the bride's home. Every day there are presentations of food and kava (*pongipongi*) until the marriage is completed [or this might be rendered, until the marriage is held]. If the man is not wealthy the festival is held quickly, but if he is illiberal it is delayed for a long time. [Meanwhile, of course, the stingy bridegroom is obliged to entertain the guests.]

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Part of the bridegroom's duties is to attend to the building of the *fale manava*, the house on, or near, the green (*malae*) where the marriage festivities are held, and which serves as a dressing-room for the bride.

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On the night before the day on which the marriage ceremony actually takes place, the bridegroom's sisters come with kava, and with some of the bride's people drink kava on the *malae*. This is called *kaihaa malae*, stealing the green. The green is swept beautifully clean. A chiefly man is brought to prepare the kava for the ladies.

[276]

Early in the morning the drum is beaten for the ceremony and the bride and bridegroom are adorned in dresses provided by the bridegroom. The bride's dress is called the *puke* (seized). It consists of one of the mats called *fihu*, two of the mats called *ngafingafi*, and any specially fine or notable mat (*kie*) which is available for her to put on. It is said that she has been "held" or "seized" with the fine mats. This dress is the *vala fetaki*, dress of going hand in hand. The two go to a house on the *malae*, where there is a great pile of native cloth, provided by the bridegroom, and cloth bound round with the fine mat called *fihu*. This is the *epa* (a sort of bridal throne). They then return to the dressing-room (*fale manava*), and change their dresses, putting on garments provided by the bride. In these fresh garments (called *vala toonga*, consisting perhaps of one each of the mats known as *fihu* and *ngafingafi*), they go again (presumably to the house where is the *epa*) without clasping of hands. When they return this time the dress called *vakai* is put on the bride, and she goes, without the bridegroom, to the house on the green, and sits on her throne. Here she is anointed with turmeric (called the *vala vali*, dress of painting). Then the bridegroom's sister utters an invocation, "May you bear children, yea even twins." Then the bridal kava is served, accompanied with large quantities of food.

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After that the drum is beaten for the native dance, and the woman goes and puts on other mats and returns and walks about. After the dance, the drum is beaten for the couple dance (dancing in pairs). Then comes the night dance which lasts until dawn of the next day. Sometime during the night the *piha pongipongi* is held, and the basket of food is brought which is called *lomi piha*. It is portioned out. Food is also portioned out to the dancers.

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Is there anything that has not its food ceremony? Each food ceremony has its meaning. The coconuts to be cooked are brought green and in bunches. This is the food brought by the woman's party. The coconuts are gathered in bundles and the cooked food is gathered in bundles. These are the special baskets of food: the *veifua*, which is

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likely that a relative would attend to it. Now relatives of the deceased dig 764
the grave, but the *haatufunga* supervises. Every funeral has its accompany- [545]
ing feasts and kava drinking. All who attend a funeral partake of [767]
the feast. At a chief's funeral the *haatufunga* officiate at the feast, giving [622]
out the food. The head of the largest pig goes to him. Food may be taken [767]
home after distribution or eaten at once. The feast is not in the house
where the deceased passed away, but nearby on the same premises. There [535]
is no dancing at the present day funeral feasts.

It is incumbent upon the family of the deceased to pay the *haatufunga* 767
with native wealth (*koloa*). A chief will have many fine mats and
tapa which are used in payment. Ten, twenty, thirty, or sixty days elapse
before payment is made to the *haatufunga*. The reason for the intervals was
not given, except that the higher rank of the deceased, the longer the pay-
ment is deferred, and the bigger the payment. Anciently non-payment by a
chief never occurred. Nowadays if no payment is made a lawsuit follows. [686]
Commoners, as well as people of rank, must pay, but no prearrangement of
the amount is made with either.

For ten, fifteen, or twenty days there are morning kava ceremonies and 765
small feasts following the big funeral feast. The *haatufunga* is present at 276
these. At the first of these kavas, two or more *haatufunga* have an argument 574
as to which of them is highest in rank—a purely formal traditional pro- 554
ceeding. 767

The funeral feast is called *feipulua*, the breakfast served by the family 764
of the deceased on the morning after the burial, *fakapongipongi;* the funeral 765
of a chief, *meafakaciki*; the funeral of a commoner, *putu*.

The Female Tui Tonga managed the funeral of the Tui Kanokupolu 764
Mumui (66, p. 241), though doubtless the *haatufunga* officiated also. On this [illegible]
occasion two of Mumui's widows were strangled. 768
[illegible]

Tradition says that occasionally a *haatufunga* was imprisoned in the vault 764
with the body of the chief or king he was interring (16, p. 77). At Houma, 767
Tongatabu, when the vault of the chief Vaea was opened in 1903 the skeleton 782
of a chief was found in proper position, lengthwise, and in one corner was
the skeleton of a *haatufunga* who had been shut in the vault.

Each adult individual had a mourning song, called *tangilaulau*, to be sung 765
at the obsequies of a relative or close friend. This song consisted of a 533
definite tune, a simple theme oft repeated, and a lament, also oft repeated, extolling in a simple way the virtues of the dead and very tragically mourning over his departure. Such a lament was permanent with each individual, excepting for the interchange of such words as father and son, as occasion demanded.

These songs began immediately after a death and continued, more or less spasmodically, until the completion of all obsequies. They never were used

did not see the wall." The term *alaipuke* means "to take the outer works of 725
a fortress"; *tele* means "to charge the enemy from the rear." 726

Public boasting by individual warriors before a combat was a common 701
practice. An important brave would brandish his club before the commander 726
and tell what he would do. It was customary to hold a kava ceremony on [276]
the eve of battle, and during the ceremony the braves would boast, or pledge [574]
themselves to valiant action. It was not unusual for a warrior to boast
that he would kill the first foe that should be slain. This of course pledged
him to rush foremost into the thick of the battle. Occasionally the chief of [276]
the army would give to the champion who pledged himself to such an undertaking the most important cup of kava, the chief's own cup (17, pp. 142-143). The first slain enemy was called the *uluafi* (literally, head of fire).

A particularly vindictive and insulting way to kill an enemy was to render 726
him helpless, then drink a coconut while sitting on his prostrate body. This was done by Tupoutoa in slaying Tupouniua in Mariner's time, to avenge the assassination of Tupoutoa's father, the Tui Kanokupolu Tukuaho. The victim was killed not in battle, but was caught unarmed after a bath.

Bodies of troops were classified as *matanga* (company) and *kongakau* 701
(regiment). The number of men in each is not known but it seems likely that *matanga* was the smaller body, as it was comprised of troops commanded by a single chief, and that a *kongakau* presumably comprised two or more *matanga*. However, Baker (2) defines both terms as "regiment" and the Catholic dictionary (46) gives the added meaning of "people of a locality" for the term *kongakau*. The term *kapisi* denotes the wing of an army.

Three *kongakau* are said to have existed anciently in Tongatabu, the *kongakau* of Haamea, of Utulau, and of Matakehe, each consisting of the men of a whole district. King George I made a new *kongakau*, that of Haa Vakatolo. The *kongakau* Matakehe belonged to the Tui Tonga. The other two ancient ones may have been under the Tui Kanokupolu or Tui Haa Takalaua. In a manuscript by the chief Maatu I find references to what may be bodies of troops.

> Haa Vakatolo and Lolopaongo [near Foui, Tongatabu?] are the people (regiments?) who belong on the side of the Tui Kanokupolu. Haamalo [near Lapaha] is on the side of the Tui Tonga. Haamalo Matakehe and Pelehake [near Alaki?] are the people (regiments?) on the side of the Tui Haa Takalaua.

In the early nineteenth century at least, the practice of eating some of 727
the slain enemies had arisen, due, so Mariner (40) says, to Fijian influence. 266
The corpse of an enemy was contemptuously referred to as *pakola*, a Fijian 177
term said to signify "underneath."

The term *fakaulu* denotes the custom of bringing the slain troops of one's 727
(according to a modern informant) own army and placing them before the

[1834]

TAUFAAHAU'S WAR CHIEF, HAVILI OF NOMUKA[8]

Havili was a chief and the greatest fighting man in Nomuka. Havili was a heathen first, later a Christian. He was Taufaahau's "general." When Methodism was first brought to the country it was pretty hard for Taufaahau to get the people to be Christians. Havili was called to Tongatabu to aid Taufaahau in suppressing the heathens. Taufaahau fought the Mua people first and won. Later he fought Nukualofa and won. Then the Mua and Nukualofa people helped Taufaahau to fight against Hihifo. Hihifo was too strong for them, so he (Taufaahau) sent for Havili to come and help him and then they won. After the war Havili returned to Nomuka. Taufaahau had come to Nomuka originally to get Havili and to assemble fighting men from Haapai. The fighting men collected on Taufaahau's ship and were brought to Nomuka where Taufaahau, Havili, and Maafu were waiting. Taifonoifua of Fonoifua was not a chief, but a great fighting man. Falase of Nomuka, was not a chief, but a great fighting man. These two were not matapule, but commoners (*matatangata*). Siulua of Lofanga, was a fighting man, but not a chief or matapule. These were all *matatangata*, men with great strength. The vessel went from Lofanga to Koulo in Lifuka and got Tavalu, another great fighting man who was neither chief nor matapule. These men were to be the *eiki tau* (commanders) of Taufaahau's army and were to command troops. Then the vessel left for Vavau to bring Tuimalohi, a commoner, and Pupunu, a matapule. From each place came one big vessel with the fighting men of the place led by one of the *eiki tau*. They sailed for Nomuka. In six days they all arrived in Nomuka and Taufaahau gave orders to leave next day for Tonga and assemble at Atata Island.

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When all arrived there kava was brewed and served. The first bowl was Taufaahau's, but he did not drink it. He merely took hold of it and called out, "Who is the strongest man here, the man who says he will reach the Hihifo fortress of Kolovai first? Let him come forward and take my kava."

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Then Havili stood up and said, "Give it to me. I'll drink it. I'll be the first man to reach there." As soon as they finished the kava, they sailed straight to Hihifo in spite of the shallowness of the water, went as far as possible, dropped anchor, and the troops (*tangatatau*) marched from there over the tidal flats to the beach.

Vahai was the commander of Hihifo. He ordered his troops to keep a good lookout on the beach, as the Haapai fighters would be sure to land there. The Haapai and Vavau troops rushed in first. The Nomuka troops tarried behind. The Haapai troops did not like the way Taufaahau was depending on Havili and Taifonoifua. The Haapai and Vavau troops were driven back and many killed. Taufaahau was frightened at seeing his troops driven back, so he turned and yelled out for Havili, saying, "Why don't you assist the troops instead of mending sails?" Then Havili stood up, grabbed hold of a big stick called *okooka* and broke it in half, kept one half himself and gave the other half to Taifonoifua. They rushed at two of the enemy and Taifonoifua killed one, while Havili grabbed the other and carried him back to the vessel where Taufaahau was resting. He threw him inside the vessel. Taufaahau was frightened and sat up, saying, "What's the matter there?"

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Havili said, "Have you already forgotten the kava that I drank on Atata?" Havili turned away, lifted his tapa garment and rushed at the enemy again. This time he rushed against nine men at a pond near the beach. They hid, but he killed the nine of them. Afterwards he named the pond Hiva (nine). Then Havili went on further until he came right into the midst of the Hihifo soldiers. When he got there they all dropped their arms (*tafetri*, a spear; *kolo*, club; *mata*, knife of ironwood). The Hihifo troops were made to kneel down. [911]

After six days the Haapai and Vavau troops returned home. When Havili and cave 500 yards from Toula village, Vavau, which is reputed to contain 266 human bones which are the remains of cannibal feasts. This cave has an entrance at sea level and slopes upward to 50 feet elevation. It was not examined, but might well prove to be a burial cave.

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[8] Related by Albert Taufa of Nomuka.

Kaifakaau, an ancient chief of Utulau, Tongatabu, was said to have been a man-eater.

Nomuka Island, Haapai, was the home of a cannibal who is reported to have frequently made raids on Tongatabu for victims. (See p. 225.) West (62, p. 271) gives this man's name as Uhila and says his cannibal [177] propensities had been intensified by a long residence in Fiji.

In the neighboring island of Fonoifua there dwelt another cannibal, Taifonoifua, perhaps a chief, though in another connection said to be a commoner, but a brave fighter. A valley on Fonoifua, from which heavy rains wash human bones, is reputed to be the place where he buried the bones of his victims. Tahifisi of Haalai, Foa Island, was also a cannibal. His name suggests that he was of Fijian origin (p. 151). Both of these men apparently lived about the close of the nineteenth century.

The following account refers to Tahifisi, the cannibal chief or matapule of Haalai, Foa Island, Haapai.

> There were twins brought to Lotofoa from Haalai to escape from the cannibal chief 266
> Tahifisi who used to roast people at Haalai. Some of the people were still alive and 725
> these twins were brought from there. They recruited the people of Lotofoa to dig 173
> a fortress in preparation for the coming of Tahifisi. After a time when this was finished some more people fled from Tahifisi at Haalai and sought shelter at Lotofoa. Whereupon the twins gave instructions to have the fortress gate toward Faleloa guarded, fearing Tahifisi might attempt entry there. The twins ordered all of the people to go and guard the Faleloa gate and leave the gate towards Fotua, which was called Tukutonunga, to them to look after. In the meantime Matauvave from Hihifo, Lifuka Island, was preparing to fight Lotofoa.
>
> When the twins heard of Matauvave's plans they took banana suckers and planted them in the sand at Fuhu in a row. Then they fetched unprinted tapa and arranged it on the tops of the banana plants and then placed torches here and there. In the evening they set fire to the torches. When Matauvave's warriors came marching along and saw the light from the torches, they thought that they were seen and that the attack would not be successful. So they then turned down to Ahanga and came to the ford called Makapulepule. The twins again went along and lighted the torches there and Matauvave's fighters again retreated. They then returned to Lotofoa, but found that the village had been burnt down by Tahifisi and his people. There still remained Tahifisi's people who first fled from him and some of Tahifisi's own people. After the burning of the village these people got together and decided to fight Tahifisi. They killed Tahifisi. That is how Tahifisi's food oven of people at Haalai came to be neglected. To this day the food oven is still untouched.

As to cannibalism in ancient times, there are but few references. The 266
first is to the killing and eating of Ahoeitu, the first Tui Tonga. The 643
story of the origin of kava, an event attributed to the reign of Momo, the 175
tenth Tui Tonga, gives a second example. Turner (59, p. 236) and Krämer [276]

(36, vol. 1, p. 301) refer to a Tongan king, apparently about the twentieth 266
Tui Tonga, who was a cannibal. An unusual form of cannibalism is revealed 643
in the story of the Tui Tonga Takalaua and Kauulufonua I. Two 175
assassins were carved to pieces alive and their raw flesh served as relish [276]
for the kava drinking (26, p. 34). Bamboo knives were used as carvers. [687]
A story about the deity Hikuleo (op. cit. p. 192) refers also to the carving [412]
alive of children for food. See page 312 for the reference to a cannibal 000
god of Samoa who was ultimately slain himself and eaten by the son of a
Tui Haa Takalaua.

ENTERTAINMENT

Tongan entertainments have been well described by Cook and subsequent 535
writers. By far the best general account of Tongan dances is given [114]
by Bishop Blanc (39, pp. 74-86). Some scraps of additional information
are presented here.

At the wedding of the present queen of Tonga the following dances 585
were performed: the *kailau*, an Uvean dance by men, in which small 535
paddles called *kaupaki* are used; *mauluulu*, a Samoan dance; *meke*, a Fijian [177]
dance; *tau fakaniua*, a Niuatoputapu dance; *lakalaka*, a Tongan dance, in
which the women were seated, the men standing. Every village put on a
lakalaka. The songs accompanying some of the dances told about the 533
queen's wedding. The songs of the Vavau people told about a recent
famine there.

At an entertainment which I attended at Taunga, April 2, 1921, a 538
poetic reference was made by a poet and his chorus to a visit I had made 533
in the forenoon of the day to the great vault tomb of hapless Talafaiva, 123
wife of the Tui Tonga Uluakimata I (26, p. 37). Whether the poet spoke
extemporaneously or whether he knew of my intended visit, the reference
was cleverly made.

This entertainment, which was a picnic, was given us by the Governor 517
of Vavau, but the refreshments and entertainment were actually furnished
by Akauola, the matapule who holds Taunga as a fief from the king. About 535
twenty Taunga girls danced. They were seated in a row on mats outside
the sunshelter under which the food was served. The costumes were varied, [292]
consisting of leaves and flowers sewed to cloth and tapa, also bright colored
cloth garments. Plumes of red and blue material and guinea-hen feathers [301]
were worn in the hair of some of the dancers. The exposed portions of the [302]
body were oiled.

All were sitting dances with the exception of two which seemed to be
endurance contests. They were performed by pairs of girls, a man joining
in apparently to urge on the girls. In one of these dances the feet were

but was adopted by the *toutai* Leka. This first Ulamoleka (p. 142) was the 597
son of Tongamana, who was the son of the Tui Kanokupolu Tupoulahi. 553
In spite of this coalescence of the two *toutai* titles in a single word, they
continue to be distinct. A nickname applied in commemoration of meritorious 551
service in battle, is Holakeituai, which means "run while there is time." 553
These are words which may be uttered by troops to their commander as 701
the fighting begins, in order to warn him away from danger. The present
bearer of this name is John Tupou Holakeituai of Nukualofa. He bears
also the nickname of Maumauvali which was bestowed upon him when he
was a baby by Lolohea, the granddaughter of the Tui Tonga Laufilitonga.
The name Holakeituai was first applied to John's father's father's father
whose name was Tufui. Holokeituai seems to be in the nature of a title.

The nickname of the Tui Kanokupolu Mumui was Mapatongiamanu 551
which means "*mapa* fruit pecked by a bird." The nickname of Taimi was 553
bestowed because of a remark which King George I made in connection
with three Vavau chiefs (Tutoe, Fulivai, and Lutui) who had childless wives.
The king remarked that it was a waste of time (*maumautaimi*) to keep childless wives, hence the name Taimi was given to the infant who was born about that time.

Every chief has a nickname which is applied to him at small informal 622
kava parties and other informal gatherings. At a very formal kava party 565
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his real title would be called. To call a titled person by his pre-appointment [553]
name was to court trouble. To address a minor chief in such fashion might [574]
incur a thrashing. To so address a major chief would warrant death. [276]
[576]

It is a common practice for girls to create nicknames, usually flower [689]
names, for the young men who call upon them and whose identity they may 551
wish to veil. There is a long series of such euphonious names, such as 553
Pipitongi which means "the *pipi* fruit cut so as to have a serrate edge," as 584
for the ornamentation of garlands.

Some nicknames have a distinctly modern flavor, for instance, a Malakai 551
Tupou of Pangai, Lifuka Island, bears the nickname of Fehokokalasini
(Fehoko-kerosene), no doubt bestowed after some incident.

There are no family names in Tonga. (See p. 16.) Titles are the nearest approach to family names, but only one individual holds a title at a [554]
time. Also it is not the custom to give children the personal names of either
parent, so that no semblance of family names appears even in the personal
names. Children are, however, often named for relatives other than parents and certain names are favored in certain families, as, for example, [602]
Fatafehi in the Tui Tonga's family and Tupou in the Tui Kanokupolu's family.

The total number of names in each island group is governed in large

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[Ata Island]

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98-99: Man to father's mother's brother's son's daughter.
102-103: Man to father's mother's brother's son's daughter.
104-105: Man to mother's father's paternal half brother's daughter.
109-110: Man to mother's paternal half sister's son's daughter's daughter.
125-127: Man to father's sister's daughter.
134-135: Man to mother's brother's daughter.
165-166: Man to father's mother's sister's daughter's daughter.

In addition to the following marriages of blood relatives which the genealogy shows, there is one case of a man (14) marrying his stepmother (7) and one case of a man (13) marrying two sisters (12 and 16). Of the twenty-six marriages of relatives nine are of cross-cousins. Seven of the cross-cousin marriages are of a man to his father's sister's daughter, two to his mother's brother's daughter. There is one example of parallel cousin marriage (70-71).

The institution of the *vasu* evidently held with as much force in Ata as 604
in Tonga proper, for informants said that of the two persons, Laufilitonga 593
(mentioned above) and his sister Takumua, that Takumua was superior in 605
rank and that her children were superior to those of her brother Laufilitonga. [184]
In fact, Laufilitonga's children had continually to go into the bush and secure food for the children of Takumua. Even to-day the descendants of Takumua rank higher than the descendants of Laufilitonga.

There were three gods recognized on Ata, two of them apparently from 184
early times, one of them from about the middle of the nineteenth century. 776
Faikavakisia, a male deity, had a sanctuary in the eastern part of the village [778]
of Kolomaile. The priest of the god is said to have borne the same name. [793]
Tui Tofua, presumably the well known Haapai god, had a sanctuary in the [778]
southern part of the town of Kolomaile. His priest was also known by the [793]
name of Tui Tofua. It seems likely that the introduction of the worship of this god may be attributed to Tameifuna, the Haapai colonist. From the present holder of the title of Leha, carpenter to the Tui Tonga, I obtained the following account of the arrival of the third god, Moalaleki, in Ata.

> Moalaleki was the god of the village and fortress of Pea, Tongatabu. In the year [276]
> 1852 the god became angry because the cup of kava of a warrior named Sialevailea was given to another warrior. Thereupon, the god deserted Pea and went at once to
> Ata, taking with him a root (*ulo*) of kava. With the departure of the god from [669]
> Pea, misfortune fell upon the town, for that very day the Tui Kanokupolu George I [798]
> laid siege to it with his Methodist army.
>
> When the god arrived in Ata he found the chiefs assembled inside a house wishing that they had kava to drink (kava was already grown in the island). Suddenly the god dropped the kava root from the roof of the house to the floor. Thereupon the chiefs said to one another, "We wish we had more kava. This is only a small quantity; too small to make a drink for us all." Then the god said from above, "It is small, but it is strong (*latea*)," expressing the idea in poetry as follows:

Oku sii pe ka oe latea	It is small but it is strong
Koe kava na'e o Pea	The kava was formerly of Pea
Koe ha'u mei pe kolo tautea	It has come from the punished town.

[539]

[Niuatoputapu Island]

Chiefs and braves (*toa*) of Niuatoputapu formerly singed their hair 565
short with a burning coconut stem (the part from which the nut is suspended), 302
while other men wore their hair long like women.

According to the Maatu I interviewed the land was divided out to the 622
various chiefs by Maatu, who created the chiefs and their titles. After some 634
had held their land for a time they would "get cheeky," so that Maatu would 423
have to fight them again. The chiefs made presents of food and other products 622
to Maatu continually. The commoners were "like dogs" and were 634 565
called *tua*. The matapules of Niuatoputapu, like those elsewhere in the Tongan 622
kingdom, did the chief's bidding with regard to the distribution of food, 624
kava, etc. A matapule who made a mistake in serving kava would be clubbed. [276]
If, however, the matapule chanced to be the grandson of Maatu (that is the [689]
issue of a marriage of one of Maatu's relatives with a person of matapule
rank) he would not be punished. In 1920 there was living at Niuatoputapu
an officiating matapule, who was eighty-nine years old.

Maatu and his family constituted the *houeiki*. Below them were the 634
chiefs and other people who were allotted pieces of land by Maatu. These 622
were called *kaumaatua*. One of them acted as regent in the absence of 565
Maatu. When one of Maatu's matapules begot a son of a woman of a place [554]
ruled by a *kaumaatua* (petty chief), that son acted as the matapule to that
petty chief, who would be either his maternal grandfather or his maternal
uncle. When an older Maatu (presumably Ngongo) fought the petty chiefs 634
and conquered them he retracted their titles and lands. These were restored 622 423
by Maatu No. 9. The retraction of titles and lands occurred with every 554
title bearer except Motuapala, who officiated at Maatu's oven, presumably as
a sort of matapule. The matapule title of Sika was taken from a conquered 634
matapule and has now been bestowed upon a person of Maatu's family. 565
Sika is the principal matapule of Maatu to-day. He is also matapule to the 554
Tui Kanokupolu when the Tui Kanokupolu visits Niuatoputapu.

There is no doubt but what the power of Maatu in the Niuatoputapu 634
group has been diminished within the last half century, for a certain portion 178
of the island is now claimed by the Tongan government. In other words it
was regarded as crown land. This land was obtained by the Tui Kanokupolu [643]
George I, evidently as a part of his policy of everywhere strengthening
his hold and of increasing the cohesion of his kingdom. Under just which
Maatu George I secured his holdings in Niuatoputapu I do not know. Since
the death of the Maatu whom I met in 1920 and 1921, an eleventh incumbent
has perhaps been appointed, although as to this I have not heard.
Presumably the Queen of Tonga has filled the vacancy if a suitable heir [643]
has been forthcoming.

After spinning the coconut, Kautae cracked it and then sprinkled everyone with 776
coconut water. This was to make the sickness leave Taufaahau. After the god had 755
restored the boy to health, Kautae changed his name from Ngininginiofolanga to Taufaahau. 643 [553]

Any chief sick a long while might be brought before Kautae, with such presents
as roast pig and kava. The visitors sat very quietly while the god entered Kautae. 776
The coming of the god was shown by Kautae's looking "like a fool." When the god 793
entered Kautae he was seated. [The informant, the Kautae of 1921, had seen his father 755
thus possessed.] Afterwards Kautae spun the coconut to determine if the person would 787
live. Then kava was made for the god. The kava was drunk by the people, but sea [276]
water brought in a coconut vessel was given to the god through his representative [415]
Kautae. The kava was served in banana leaf cups, as was the salt water. These, together with the bowl and strainer were brought by Fakaotoota, the priest's attendant
who was regularly appointed by Kautae. These were used anciently in place of coconut [415]
shells. Salt water did not make Kautae sick. The god was still in Kautae when
he drank salt water. Kautae shook all over when the god was in him. The movement of the body was an up-and-down trembling, arms flexed and shaking, head bowed
slightly, eyes staring.

The succession to the priestly office of Kautae seems to have been as 793
follows: (5) the incumbent of 1921; (4) the incumbent's father; (3) the 428
incumbent's father's father's brother's son; (2) the incumbent's father's
father's brother; (1) the incumbent's father's father.

The present Kautae said that, when a new priest was appointed at the 793
death of the old one, the god enters the new priest, even though the new 776
priest was only an appointee of the chief or of the king. The present Kautae, 787
who is a Christian, has never felt as though the god were going to enter him. [795]
His son, who will probably succeed to the title, is called Halafaiafenga.

There are two tales about an alleged tomb of the god Taufaitahi which 776
lies beneath the sea. One version places this tomb between Vavau and Niuatoputapu. It is said that in looking through the waters from a boat one can see the white tomb (*faitoka*) and usually near it Taufaitahi himself in the form of a white shark. The other tale attributes the tomb to the bay of Mua in the lagoon of Tongatabu, and between the island of Moungatapu and the place called Nahafu. It cannot be seen from the surface of the water on account of the mud, but by diving the alleged grave can be seen, a stone surrounded by white sand; it is called Muliafanini. The god himself is said to have dubbed this submarine spot his grave.

A tale refers to the seizing of a man named Fatuimoana by the shark god 776
Taufaitahi: 825
773

A number of people were going to the island of Motutapu, Tongatabu, one day [521]
to attend games of playing in the surf (*fanifo*). The shark seized Fatuimoana by the
arm when he dived and dragged him beneath the water. The people could look down
and see the victim being held by the great shark. The priest of the god was sent for
and came in the boat. He dived down and brought the drowned Fatuimoana to the
surface. The body of the victim was taken to the Hahake district in Tongatabu and [782]
the inferior relatives of Fatuimoana had their little fingers cut off and brought as
offerings to Kautae who was begged to restore Fatuimoana to life, but all in vain.

eat everything because his god was in him. To Haveakai, and to other Tongan gods, a 776
huge root of kava was an invariable present, as it is to a great chief. Such a sized 793
root was called ***konga kava***. 782 [276]

The priest of the god Kafoiaatu was named Maumui and his home was in the tract 776
Manaiange, in Uiha, where he had a house. He possessed whale ivory, which was 793
kept in a fine mat, and black tapa. The fine mat was placed on the black tapa, and 778
then wrapped in a piece of ordinary tapa, and no one was allowed to go near the place
where it was kept.

This deity was also the god of the chief Malupo of Uiha, and he and the people 776
prayed to Kafoiaatu. When they went to offer sacrifice they would wear Tahitian 782
chestnut leaves strung around their necks. They would sit outside the god's house and [301]
pray from there. They had also plain tapa (*lou-fetaaki*) wound around their heads. [516]
No chief ever offered any sacrifice, but the matapule did. [565]

The bird of the god is the fruit dove ***kulukulu*** (*Ptilopus porphyraceus*) and the 776
spirit of the god entered the ***kulukulu***. If this dove flew and roosted in a tree, noise [825]
of any kind would be forbidden nearby. When Kafoiaatu entered Maumui, he shiv- [787]
ered and cried and changed and became white like a corpse. If anyone was on the [763]
point of death and a person's finger was cut off and given as an offering to Kafoiaatu [782]
and that offering was accepted, the person recovered.

Another Uiha deity was the god Taufamangumoetoto.

His priest was Kakala. His tract was Finetofusi and he had a house on it. The [793]
things he left in this house were a shield (*pa*) and a club. The bird of the god was [778]
the ***kalevo*** (*Eudynamis tahitiensis*) and he often entered into this bird. This god hated [825]
dogs. The people prayed and sacrificed to him. If there was any sickness, or a person [782]
near death, they would then cut off somebody's finger and take it to Taufamangumoetoto [755]
and if the sacrifice were accepted, the person would live. If sacrifice were to be made [763]
the people wore a string of *hoi* leaves round their necks and then went and offered sacri- [784]
fice to the god. It was forbidden that they enter the god's house and they would sit out- [778]
side. This god belonged to Tuita Toluafetupu and his family and was regarded as very
sacred (*toputapu aupito*). It was forbidden for anyone to make any noise near, or to
enter, the god's premises.

Another god in Uiha was called Foliaki of Pulotu.

This god belonged to Malupo and his family. His priest was Havea who lived [793]
in a house on the island Uiha; but apparently the shrine of the god was on Tatafa [778]
Island. He had a basket as the shrine (*fakafaango*) and container of his sacred objects [825]
of whale ivory and shells. He also had a pigeon (*lupe, Globicera pacifica*) which he
would let loose. The pigeon would go to Tatafa Island and the people would go to the
pigeon. Their gatherings all took place at the Sia Hinefaitehina. If anyone was ill he [755]
and his relatives would string the chestnut leaves and wear them around their necks [782]
and go to the god and make their sacrifices near his shrine.

This god's food consisted of yams, pork, and other things, and he would drink the [782]
young coconuts. He detested the name of Fatafehi and it was never mentioned in Uiha. [784]
For the same reason the name Manumataongo Polau Faivaka was never called.

When this god entered Havea, the priest is said to shiver and change, and his face [787]
to become red, and his manner utterly different. Kava was not served to Havea in the [276]
ordinary kava cup, but in a folded banana leaf. He had scraped coconut for relish
(*fono*) and this was folded up in banana leaves. After he had partaken of the kava,
he would lift up his relish and eat it all, not leaving a crumb.

All noise, such as whistling and clapping, was forbidden at this god's place. [784]

There were two other Uiha deities whose names and sex the informant
did not know. One of these deities had a house on a tract called Pulemoui,

the hands of the god. Moreover, standing in each god's house there were, 778
in addition to the mats, wooden war weapons and other objects which were [688]
painted yellow with turmeric. Some of the wooden objects standing in the
god's house seem to have been more or less rudely shaped into human form,
although there is no evidence that they were regarded as idols.

Offerings of finger joints or human lives, or of food were presented to 782
the god whose aid was sought through the priest. Prayer, at fire lighting [771]
in the evening, is reported for Samoa, but appears not to have been practiced
in Tonga. Kava, however, was poured out on the ground as an offering [276]
to the gods in heathen times. Before engaging in warfare, boxing, wrestling, [726]
or other athletic contest, each contestant would throw a bit of kava, called [526]
mesini, over the fence into the enclosure of his patron deity, to procure the
protection of the god.

Other individuals, as well as priests, seem to have been the repositories 538
of stories concerning the gods. These stories are called *talatupua*, the name 773
apparently containing the stem *tupui* which refers to the original
gods as distinguished from disembodied human spirits. The word *talanoa*
refers to old-time stories, but not necessarily those that deal with the gods.
The enclosure in which a priest's or god's house stood was often referred to 778
grandiloquently as *lotoalahi* (inside the great fence). The houses of the 346
priests and gods seem to have borne especial names, as well as the tracts
upon which they stood. For example, Falemanaia applied to a god-house
at Makave, Vavau Island. The site where the Falemanaia stood is now
marked by an irregular mound about 4 feet high. Other temple names are
mentioned above.

Certain of the priests seem not only to have exercised the usual priestly 793
functions of medium for the god, but seem also to have been at times the 764
caretakers of adjacent cemeteries. Thus, the priest who resides at Fiehua,
the shrine of the god Finautauiku, was also the caretaker of the cemetery
Loamanu, wherein the Tui Haa Takalaua were buried, and where small
carved wooden figures are said to have been set up at graves. It was suggested by the priest Kautae that they were purely decorative, which would
bear out Cook's observation of the lack of respect bestowed upon them
(66, p. xlix).

Each lineage, represented by its chief or head, had a god who was worshipped by all members of the lineage. 776
Children worshipped the god of 613
their father and commonly the wife adopted the worship of the god of her [593]
husband. Sometimes, when a god was believed to be incarnate in some bird, [825]
a bird of that particular species would be kept in the house of the chief of
the lineage.

Gods seem not to have been connected with settlements or districts, but
to have been connected only with groups of people; that is, with patri-

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

it was now sufficiently evident, merely meant to [12]
imply that some of Mr. Mariner's countrymen lay dead where he pointed, and that they were going to roast or bake some hogs there.

From this place he was led towards the island of Foa. On the way they stopped at a hut, where they stripped him of his trowsers, notwithstanding his earnest solicitations to retain them; for he already felt the effect of the sun upon his back, and dreaded a total exposure to its heat. He was now led about bare-footed, and without any thing to cover him, the heat blistering his skin in a most shocking manner. Every now and then some or other of the natives came up to him from motives of curiosity, felt his skin to compare it with their own, or likened it rather (as he afterwards understood) to the skin of a scraped hog, from its whiteness: from malice or rather wantonness they spat upon him, pushed him about, and threw sticks and cocoanut shells at him, so that his head was cut in
several places. After having thus tantalized and [29]
led him about for a considerable length of time, as fast as the soreness of his feet would permit him to walk, a woman happening to pass near at hand, from motives of compassion gave him an apron made of the leaves of the chee-tree, with which he was permitted to cover himself.
Coming at length to a hut, they entered and sat [276]

[576]

727 down to drink cava*, putting him in a corner,
276 and desiring him by signs to sit down, it being
576 considered very disrespectful to stand up before a superior; the principle of which point of etiquette will be explained in another place. Whilst his persecutors were thus regaling themselves, a man entered the hut in great haste; and having said something to the company, took Mr. Mariner away with him.
727 As they were going along
634 they met one of the Sandwich islanders, whom the Port au Prince had brought from Anahooro Bay, who gave Mr. Mariner to understand that Finow, the king of the islands, had sent for him. When he arrived in the king's presence, the king beckoned to him, and made signs that he should sit near him. As he entered the place, the king's women, who sat at the other end of the room, at the sight of him in the deplorable condition in which he was, with one voice uttered a cry of pity, beating their breasts, and exclaiming, *O yaoo! chiodofa!* Alas! poor young man! Fortunately for Mr. Mariner, Finow had taken an extraordinary liking to him from the first moment he had seen him on board; he thought he was the captain's son, or at least a young chief of some consequence in his own country; and

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* An infusion of the root of a species of the pepper plant, the mode of preparing which, and ceremony of drinking it, will be described hereafter in a more proper place.

fanga: they immediately proceeded to his fa- 726 669
ther's grave, (Mr. Mariner being also with them) 634
to perform the ceremony of Toogi. All who 796
went for this purpose put on mats instead of 769
their usual dress, and wreaths made of the leaves
of the *ifi* tree round their necks (significant of [292]
respect and humility). They sat down cross- [824]
legged (the usual way of sitting) before the [516]
grave; Finow, as well as the rest, beating their
cheeks with their fists for about half a minute, 726
without speaking a word. One of the principal 669
matabooles then addressed the spirit of Finow's 634
father to the following purpose: "Behold the 796
"man (meaning Finow) who has come to 769
"Tonga to fight his enemies: be pleased with 782
"him, and grant him thy protection; he comes [565]
"to battle, hoping he is not doing wrong; he
"has always held Tooitonga* in the highest
"respect, and has attended to all religious cere-
"monies with exactness." One of the attend-
ants then went to Finow, and received from
him a piece of cava root, which he laid down on
the raised mount before the Fytoka (burying-
place). Several others, who had pieces of cava
root in their bosoms, went up to the grave in 726
like manner and deposited them. The cere- 669
mony being thus finished, Finow and his friends 634
431
276
796
[643]

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* Tooitonga is a great chief, supposed to be descended from a God.

726
669 returned to the beach, where a large root of cava
634 was brought to them as a present, by the chief
431 of the consecrated place, on which they
276 regaled.

796 During this time, the greater part of the
forces in the canoes employed themselves in
669 preparing for battle, again painting their bodies
726 and faces after various fanciful forms. The
[714] enemy on shore were also in a state of preparation:
they shouted the war-whoop, and ran up and down the beach with furious gestures; splashing up the water with their clubs, brandishing them in the air, flourishing their spears, and bidding bold defiance to their invaders.

Finow and his attendants having returned on
712 board, the whole fleet proceeded to a neighbouring
[669] fortress called Nioocalofa, the strongest,
[726] though not the largest, in the whole island.
As it will be proper to understand the usual form and construction of these Tonga fortresses, we shall give a general description of them, taking that of Nioocalofa as a model for the rest.

The fortress of Nioocalofa is situated on the western coast of the island, about one hundred yards distant from the water's edge, occupying
712 about four or five acres of ground. It consists,
349 in the first place, of a strong wall or fencing
of reeds, something like wicker-work, supported

727

purpose of procuring reeds to rebuild the 349
fortress of Nioocalofa. This step was taken 712
by the admonition of the gods, who were [787]
consulted on the occasion through the medium
of the priests.

As the invocation of the gods, and inspiration 128
of the priests, are circumstances that will often
occur in the course of this work, it will be well
to take the present opportunity of describing
them.

The night previous to the consultation of the 787
oracle, the chief orders his cooks to kill and pre- [262]
pare a hog, and to procure a basket of yams,
and two bunches of ripe plantains. These 787
things being got ready, the next morning they 793
are carried to the place where the priest resides,
or wherever he may be at that time: the priest
is sometimes previously apprised of the circumstance, at other times not. The chiefs and ma- [292]
tabooles clothe themselves in mats, and repair [276]
to the place where the priest is to be found: if
it be at a house, the priest seats himself just
within the eaves*; if at a distance, he seats himself on any convenient spot of ground, and the
matabooles seat themselves on either hand, so
as would form a circle, or rather an ellipsis, if

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* Their houses are built somewhat in form of a shed, [342]
open all round, and the eaves coming within about four feet
of the ground.

793
787 there were not a considerable vacant space left
276 opposite the priest. In this space, at the bottom
[292] of the circle, sits the man who prepares the
cava, the root being previously chewed by the
787 cooks, attendants, and others, who sit behind
209 him: behind these again sit the chiefs indiscriminately
565 among the people. The chiefs take
[276] this retired and humble station on account of
the sacredness of the occasion, conceiving that
such modest demeanour must be acceptable to
the gods.

787 As soon as they are all seated, the priest is
793 considered as inspired, the god being supposed
to exist within him from that moment. He remains
for a considerable time in silence, with
his hands clasped before him; his eyes are cast
[565] down, and he rests perfectly still. During the
time that the victuals are being shared out, and
the cava preparing, the matabooles sometimes
begin to consult him; sometimes he answers
them, at other times not; in either case he remains
with his eyes cast down. Frequently he
793 will not utter a word till the repast is finished,
787 and the cava too. When he speaks, he generally
154 begins in a low and very altered tone of
[195] voice, which gradually rises to nearly its natural
pitch, though sometimes a little above it. All
that he says is supposed to be the declaration of
the god, and he accordingly speaks in the first

person as if he were the god. All this is done 787
generally without any apparent inward emotion 154
or outward agitation; but on some occasions 793
his countenance becomes fierce, and, as it were, inflamed, and his whole frame agitated with inward feeling; he is seized with an universal trembling; the perspiration breaks out on his forehead, and his lips, turning black, are convulsed; at length, tears start in floods from his eyes, his breast heaves with great emotion, and his utterance is choked. These symptoms gradually subside. Before this paroxysm comes [261]
on, and after it is over, he often eats as much as four hungry men, under other circumstances, could devour. The fit being now gone off, he 787
remains for some time calm, and then takes up 793
a club that is placed by him for the purpose, turns it over and regards it attentively; he then looks up earnestly, now to the right, now to the left, and now again at the club; afterwards he looks up again, and about him in like manner, and then again fixes his eyes upon his club, and so on, for several times: at length he suddenly raises the club, and, after a moment's pause, strikes the ground, or the adjacent part of the house, with considerable force: immediately the god leaves him, and he rises up and retires to the back of the ring among the people. If 787
the company now wish for any more cava, Fi- 634
554
276

787 now, or the greatest chief present, goes and sits
634 at the head of the ring.

554 It might be supposed that this violent agita-
276 tion on the part of the priest is merely an assumed appearance for the purpose of popular deception; but Mr. Mariner has no reason at
787 all to think so. There can be little doubt, how-
154 ever, but that the priest, on such occasions,
793 often summons into action the deepest feelings of devotion of which he is susceptible, and by a voluntary act disposes his mind, as much as possible, to be powerfully affected: till at length, what began by volition proceeds by involuntary effort, and the whole mind and body become subjected to the overruling emotion. But there is nothing new in all this: ancient times, as well as modern, afford numerous instances of this nature; and savage nations, as well as civilized, display ample testimony that false religions, and false notions of religion, act upon some minds with such extraordinary impulses, that they are mistaken for divine inspirations.

It happens in the Tonga Islands, that persons,
787 who are not priests, are often visited by the
154 gods, particularly females, but who are never
784 affected in the manner above described: they are generally low spirited and thoughtful, as if some heavy misfortune had befallen them, and, as the symptom increases, they generally shed a

profusion of tears; they sometimes swoon away 787
for a few minutes: the height of the paroxysm 154
generally lasts from a quarter to half an hour. 784
These are also called fits of inspiration, and are
firmly believed to be visitations from some god
who accuses the party of neglect of religious
duty, not by an apparent audible warning, but
by an inward compunction of conscience. But 787
these things are also common enough in all 154
parts of the world, at home as well as abroad.
Some of the natives are such adepts at this sort
of mysterious conversation with the divinities,
that they can bring on a fit of inspiration whenever
they feel their mind at all so disposed.
Mr. Mariner, indeed, did once witness a rare [276]
instance of a man who was disappointed in this
particular: finding himself, as he thought, about
to be inspired, some cava was brought to him
(as is usual on such occasions), but, in a little
while, he was obliged to acknowledge that the
god would not visit; at which all present were
greatly surprised, and so the cava was taken
away again.

These imaginations, however, have sometimes [155
produced very serious consequences: to give an
instance; on one occasion a certain chief, a [763]
very handsome young man, became inspired,
but did not yet know by whom; on a sudden
he felt himself exceedingly low spirited, and

where he left her to have her mats taken off, 643
and her usual dress put on; after which she 585
amused herself in conversation with the women.
In the mean time a feast was prepared for the [262]
evening, of pigs, fowls, yams, &c. and cava: [574]
this was got ready on the *malái*, where, about [565]
dusk, Tooitonga presiding, the company sat
down to receive their portions, which the generality
reserved to take home with them; the
lower orders, indeed, who had but a small quantity,
consumed theirs on the spot. After this [276]
the cava was shared out and drunk. The musicians [533]
(if so they can be called) next sat down
at the bottom of the ring, opposite to Tooitonga,
in the middle of a circle of flambeaus, held
by men who also held baskets of sand to receive
the ashes. The musical instruments consisted 534
of seven or eight bamboos of different lengths
and sizes, (from three to six feet long) so as to
produce, held by the middle, and one end
being struck on the ground, different notes according
to the intended tune (all the knots
being cut out of the bamboo, and one end
plugged up with soft wood). The only other
instrument was a piece of split bamboo, on
which a man struck with two sticks, one in
each hand, to regulate the time. The music 643
was an accompaniment to dancing, which was 585
[533]
[535]

669 which he meant to reside during his stay: the Vavaoo people were forbidden to carry any offensive weapons, whilst those of Hapai were ordered to be under arms, and to keep themselves on the alert.

634 [641] Two or three days after this funeral ceremony, the king summoned a private meeting in his presence of the chiefs of Hapai, and those of Vavaoo, when the latter swore allegiance to [782] [276] [415] Finow with their hands placed upon a consecrated bowl *, whilst cava was being mixed in it, invoking the god, Tooi fooa Bolotoo, to whom the bowl was consecrated, and praying him to punish them with untimely death if they should afterwards break their vow, or harbour any thoughts to that intent. The cava was then shared out, and the king informed the Vavaoo chiefs, that thenceforth they were to consider Toe Oomoo, (his aunt), as their lawful chief, and to pay respect to her as such, at her cava ceremonies: they accordingly promised all due submission and obedience to their newly appointed chief; after which the

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[778] [565] * The bowl is held consecrated because it is kept on purpose to make cava in, for the ceremonies of that god only (Tooi fooa Bolotoo), being used on no other occasion. If a great chief takes an oath, he swears by the god, (laying his hand upon the consecrated bowl); if an inferior chief takes an oath, he swears by his superior relation, who, of course, is a greater chief, and lays his hand upon his feet.

of urging any thing against him, and he solemnly 669
declaring his innocence, and stating 687
that his son must have invented this tale to 634
answer some purpose with the enemy; moreover, having always borne a good character and been well beloved by his men, and believed to have been always firmly attached to the interests of Finow, he was set at liberty and restored to his post.

The day after this chief was reinstated, Finow 669
ordered the ceremony of drinking cava to 727
the priest of his tutelar god Toobó Totai, by 276
way of gratitude for the late victory. This ceremony 787
is exactly the same as that of invoking 793
a god through the medium of his priest; and consists merely in the customary form of sitting down to make cava in the presence of a priest, (he presiding at the head of the ring). In this instance, after the cava, pork, &c. had been served out, one of the matabooles, in a few words, thanked the god in the person of the priest for the late signal victories. The priest in answer, after waiting for another dish of cava, declared that Finow would at length succeed in his war against Felletoa, but that this fortress was not the strongest power he had to contend with, for the seeds of insurrection were already sown in his own army, and although Lioofau was perfectly innocent of what had been al-

669 leged against him, yet there was one at no
727 great distance from him for whom so much
276 could not be said. The god having conde-
787 scended to declare this, left his priest, and the
793 latter arose and went away; the company then
broke up. Finow pretended to take no notice
of what the priest declared, not wishing the
circumstance to be much noticed by others.

The following day an adopted son of Finow
669 brought him secret intelligence that he had
634 heard that several men had been sent off at dif-
565 ferent times, by Mappa Haano, to the fortress
687 of Felletoa, to concert with the enemy on the
558 subject of revolt, and that this chief had the in-
tention of doing what Lioofau had been un-
[292] justly accused of and imprisoned for. The king
[301] immediately sent for Mappa Haano, who obeyed
the summons, and came drest up in mats, with
[576] green leaves round his neck, (marks of humi-
[793] liation and fear) attended by a priest. When
669 they arrived opposite Finow's house they sat
634 down before it; then the priest rose and ad-
565 vancing nearer to Finow, who was seated just
687 within the eaves of the house, he again sat
558 down before him, and stated that Mappa Haano
793 had requested his intermediation, to express for
him the sentiments of self-accusation with
which he felt himself oppressed, and his ac-
knowledgment of the justice of his fate, if Fi-

669 mantic procession, bringing with them abund-
728 ance of gnatoo, yams, &c. as presents to their
[292] relations. In this way they entered the fortress
[431] of Finow, and came into the king's presence on
the *malái*, where he was seated with his chiefs
[431] and matabooles. The Vavaoo people then laid
down their spears, which were afterwards shared
out to three of Finow's principal chiefs, who
again shared them out to all those below them
[276] in rank*. They seated themselves round the
[565] *malái*, and cava was prepared, the young chiefs
and warriors of Felletoa waiting on the com-
[701] pany†. All this time Finow's men were unarmed‡, (agreeably to the custom on such occasions) but by his orders the greater part remained at their houses where their arms were deposited, for he was upon his guard lest his guests had some stratagem to play: but he had merely signified to his men, that it would be better for them to remain at their houses, as it

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[*] Mr. Mariner believes this to be always the case on such occasions; but this was the only instance of a peace formally established, that ever happened while he was there.

[†] It is an honourable office to assist at cava parties, it is therefore generally filled by young chiefs.

[‡] The visitors come armed for the sake of parade, giving up their arms afterwards as presents; those that receive them must be unarmed as a proof of their amicable disposition, and that they do not mean to get them in their power by stratagem.

669 sign the government of the Hapai islands to
728 Toobó Tóa, who was to send him annual tri-
[634] bute.

When the cava was finished the company rose up, and the Vavaoo party returned to Felletoa, to prepare an entertainment for the Hapai people the following day.

634 Early the next morning all the chiefs, mata-
669 booles, and warriors of Neafoo, painted and de-
728 corated themselves with streamers, and put on
541 mats, in token of Finow's inferiority as a rela-
[292] tion to his aunt Toe Oomoo, chief of the for-
[301] tress of Felletoa. They took spears in their
[604] hands, and, thus equipped, marched out of
[431] Neafoo, two and two, with Finow at their head,
carrying with them presents for their relations
634 in the opposite garrison. In this order they
entered Felletoa, and proceeded to the *malái*,
669 where all the chiefs and matabooles of Toe
728 Oomoo were seated ready to receive them. A
604 quantity of hogs, yams, and fowls, were depo-
sited in the middle of the circle, at the upper
end of which a place was left vacant for the
king to preside in, for, his aunt not being there,
[276] he was the greatest chief present. Had Toe
[574] Oomoo been also present, she must have pre-
sided, at the head of the circle, and the king,
as her inferior relation, must have seated him-
self opposite to her, on the outside of the cir-

cle, among the common people; for no two relations 634
of different rank can sit in the same circle 669
together*. On this account, and out of 728
respect to Finow, he being sovereign, Toe 604
Oomoo did not make her appearance. Finow 276
being seated, his men, as they came in, deposited 574
their spears in the middle of the circle,
to be afterwards shared out in the same manner
as was done by the Vavaoo people at Neafoo 669
the day before; they then retired to the outside 728
of the circle, ready to wait upon the company. 276
A large root of cava was then split into 574
pieces, and distributed to be chewed as usual.
While the cava was preparing, the provisions [431]
were shared out, ready to be eaten after the
cava was drunk. This being done, and the 634
provisions consumed, a second course of cava 604
was prepared and served out, of which Finow 728
having drunk a small quantity, retired to pay a 669
visit to his aunt. When he arrived in her presence
he went up to her, and, with great respect,
kissed her hand, and she, in return,
kissed his forehead†. He then sat down to [276]

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* An accurate and full description of the ceremonious regulations of a cava party will be given in the second volume.

† When a person salutes a superior relation, he kisses the [576]
hand of the party; if a very superior relation, he kisses the foot: the superior in return kisses the forehead. There may be some doubt as to the propriety of the term *to kiss* in this ceremony, for it is not performed by the lips after our

634 drink cava with her and her attendants, and, as
604 she presided, he of course sat outside, facing
728 her. When the cava was finished, he walked
669 out to view the fortifications, on which occa-
[276] sion the matabooles of Toe Oomoo waited on
him, and pointed out every thing worthy of no-
tice. They descanted on the excellence of the
plan, and then gave him anecdotes of the war,
telling him where such a chief was killed,
where another lost his arm or his leg, where
a cannon-ball had struck, &c.; and, as they
viewed the outside of the works, they pointed
out where the different murderers of Toobó
703 Nuha met their fate. All this, however, they
577 told him in answer to his queries; for it is a
thing very remarkable in the character of the
people of Tonga, that they never exult in any
feats of bravery they may have performed, but,
on the contrary, take every opportunity of
praising their adversaries; and this a man will
do, although his adversary may be plainly a
coward, and will make an excuse for him, such

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[576] usual mode, but rather by the application of the upper lip
and the nostrils, and has more the appearance of smelling.
When two equals are about to salute, each applies his upper
lip and nostrils to the forehead of the other, or he applies
his lips to the lips of the other, but without any movement
[829] of them, or smack, as in our mode. Our kiss they never
adopt, not even between the sexes, but, on the contrary,
always ridicule it, and term it *the white man's kiss.*

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771 824 is every probability that, some years back, it was such, in a great degree, though now little trod: but those who are willing to keep up the spirit of the wonderful have attributed it to this supernatural cause. Superstitions, in all countries, are much of the same kind; we have similar ones in our own; but, whilst men of cultivated minds disregard them, the vulgar in general most firmly give their belief, particularly where there is some sensible object that appears to corroborate the tale *.

634 276 Whilst Finow was yet at the Hapai islands, he often held conversations at his cava parties with Filimóëátoo, respecting the state of affairs at Tonga. Among other things, this chief related, that a ship from Botany Bay had 177 484 touched there about a week before he arrived, on board of which there was a Tonga chief, Páloo Máta Móigna, and his wife, Fataféhi, both of whom had formerly left Tonga (before the death of Toogoo Ahoo), and had resided some years at the Fiji islands, from which place they afterwards went along with one Selly (as they

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* I observe that some readers have looked upon the above explanation as if I had considered it perfectly satisfactory in regard to all the phenomena: this I did not intend: I have merely ventured to state what I consider to be the probable cause of the long track. As to the short transverse one, suffice it to say, that I do not believe it to have been occasioned by poor Norton's body.

133 there is a peculiar cavern, situated on the
western coast, the entrance to which is some
feet beneath the surface of the sea even at low
water; and was first discovered by a young
chief, whilst diving after a turtle. The nature
of this cavern will be better understood if we
imagine a hollow rock rising sixty feet or more
above the surface of the water; into the cavity
of which there is no known entrance but one,
and that is on the side of the rock, several feet
under the water, which flows into it; and consequently
the base of the cavern may be said to
634 be the sea itself[*]. Finow and his friends, being
276 on this part of the island, proposed one afternoon
517 on a sudden thought, to go into this
cavern, and drink cava. Mr. Mariner was not
727 with them at the time the proposal was made;
481 but happening to come down a little while after
to the shore, and seeing some of the young
chiefs diving into the water, one after another,
and not rise again, he was a little surprised,
and enquired of the last, who was just preparing
to take the same step, what they were

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[*] The depth of the entrance below the surface differs of course with the different heights of the tide: when Mr. Mariner entered, it was about six feet below the surface: Jeremiah Higgins says it was two or three feet when he went in, at nearly low water, at which period it is very difficult to enter, on account of the swell.

727 discover, being directed by the voice, Finow
and the rest of the company, seated like himself.
Nevertheless, as it was desirable to have
a stronger illumination, Mr. Mariner dived out
again, and procuring his pistol, primed it well,
tied plenty of *gnatoo* tight round it, and
wrapped the whole up in a plaintain leaf: he
directed an attendant to bring a torch in the
same way. Thus prepared, he re-entered the
cavern as speedily as possible, unwrapped the
gnatoo, a great portion of which was perfectly
dry, fired it by the flash of the powder, and
lighted the torch. The place was now illuminated
tolerably well, for the first time, per-
133 haps, since its existence. It appeared (by
guess) to be about 40 feet wide in the main
part, but which branched off, on one side, in
two narrower portions. The medium height
seemed also about 40 feet*. The roof was
hung with stalactites in a very curious way, resembling,
upon a cursory view, the gothic
521 arches and ornaments of an old church. After
276 having examined the place, they drank cava,
517 and passed away the time in conversation upon
823 different subjects. Among other things, an

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* Jeremiah Higgins thinks it was not near so high: he had the light of the sun setting opposite to the entrance, and refracted through the water. Mr. Mariner had a superior light, from his torch.

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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the older chiefs and mataboolees, and Finow, in 634
consequence, orders a *fono* to be addressed to 627
the people, in which the impropriety of the 684
conduct of the young chiefs is pointed out: the 577
offenders receive a suitable admonition, and are
ordered to desist from such ill behaviour for
the future. From one cause or another, there 634
is usually a *fono*, either general or partial, every
fourteen or twenty days. It will be easily understood that addresses of this kind are absolutely and frequently necessary, for the preservation of tolerable decency and good order, among a people who have no knowledge of any
means of graphic communication. The speech 634
is generally made by some old and principal 276
mataboole*, as it was on this occasion, when
the ceremony was held at Macave, about two [565]
miles and a half from Felletoa; after which, as [537]
usual, a large bowl of cava was provided. The chiefs and warriors of Vavaoo took a very active part in the preparation of the cava, to demonstrate to Finow their attention and loyalty.
After the first bowl was drunk, while all were 634
in expectation that the king would give out some 687

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* The reader will recollect that the mataboolees hold a 727
rank in society next below chiefs; they are the ministers, as 669
it were, and counsellors of chiefs: it is their duty also to attend to public ceremonies, and to keep an eye upon the morals and general conduct of the people.

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634 more cava root to be prepared,—on a sudden
687 he pronounced aloud the word *boogi* (hold or
727 arrest). Instantly all the chiefs and warriors
669 that had been particularly active against him in
[276] the late war were seized by men previously
appointed: their hands were tied fast behind
them; and they were taken down to the beach,
where, with the club, several were immediately
dispatched; and the remainder were reserved
till the afternoon, for what is considered a more
signal punishment, viz. to be taken out to sea,
and sunk in old leaky canoes. This transaction
[166] seemed to show how little was to be trusted to
the honour of Finow, and how well founded
[167] were the suspicions of those Vavaoo chiefs, who
had said that no reliance was to be placed in
him; and that there was little doubt but that
he would take an early opportunity of exercising
his revenge: *they* therefore acted a wise
part, who, as soon as the peace was concluded,
fled at the earliest opportunity, some to the
669 island of Tonga, others to the Fiji islands. It
must, however, be acknowledged that Finow
634 had received information of a conspiracy which
[687] these chiefs were designing against him; and
if this be true, his conduct was certainly less
reproachable *. Finow being apprehensive

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* It must be remarked that their innocence was never positively asserted; nobody supposed that they had actually

A [Finow--Analyst]

669 some thought that Toohó Malohi would in-
727 stantly obey the order to take his appointed
728 seat, conscious of his exalted rank, and fearless
796 of the jealousy of Finow: the greater part,
554 however, were of opinion, that he would re-
576 main where he was, knowing well the revenge-
643 ful disposition of the *How*, and his promptitude to sacrifice those whom he suspected. In a little time this matter was put out of dispute. The mataboole on Finow's right hand exclaimed aloud, "Toobó Malohi! here is a "place for you." The chief seemed not to hear the summons, keeping his head bowed down to the earth: the mataboole again said, "Toobó Malohi! here is a place for you;" but his ears were still shut, and he preserved the same humble posture. The mataboole then said to the others successively (mentioning their names in the order of their rank), "here is a place for you;" and they accordingly seated themselves as their names were called over, in the places appointed for them (i. e. those who were of sufficient rank to sit in the circle, the others retiring among the people), leaving Toobó Malohi seated by himself in the middle of the ring. Cava was now
[276] prepared, and served out to the company, each in his turn, according to his rank, not excepting Toobó Malohi, who, in this case, was

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served the fourth: when the cava was presented 669
to him, he neither took it nor raised 727
up his head, but speaking to somebody who 728
sat a little behind him, that person stretched 796
his arms forward, and, receiving it for him, 554
took it away, reserving it for Toobó Malohi, 576
to drink after the cava party should be dissolved. 276
The company, having finished their 643
cava, dispersed, and Toobó Malohi retired to
take his.

This chief and his followers remained at 643
Vavaoo about a fortnight before they sailed to 203
the Hapai islands; during which time he entertained 634
Finow with an account of different
transactions at Tonga, relating what conspiracies
had been devised, what battles had been
fought, what brave chiefs and warriors had
fallen. Every time he mentioned the death of
a hero, Finow struck his breast with his fist,
exclaiming, "What a warrior has fallen in a
"useless war!" or something to that purpose.

Before Toobó Malohi and his chiefs took 643
their departure, Finow repeated his orders to 668
Toobó Toa to keep a watchful eye upon them, 634
and to give him the earliest information, if he
discovered any symptoms of conspiracy, for he
said he expected something of the kind, as they
were all choice warriors, and had been well experienced
at the Fiji islands.

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to a priest called *Toobò Téa*, who was accus- 755
tomed to be inspired by Finow's tutelar god 782
Toobò Totái. On this island several enclosures 634
or fencings are consecrated to this god: to one 593
of which his daughter was carried, and the same 793
offering and same kind of address was frequently 787
made; but in this case, not before the conse- 776
crated house where the sick child lay, but where- [484]
ever the priest happened to be, which was gene- [778]
rally at his own house or at Finow's. It must [565]
here be remarked that those gods who have
priests are invoked in the person of the inspired
priest wherever he may happen to be: those
who have no priest are invoked at the consecrated
house by a mataboole, as was the case in the late
instance with *Tali-y-Toobò*, who has no priest.

Toobò Totái was thus invoked every day, in
the person of his priest, during a fortnight or 787
three weeks. Seated at the head of the cava 793
ring*, he seemed much affected, and generally 755
shed a profusion of tears. To their earnest en- 634
treaties he scarcely ever made any answer, and 593
when he did, it was, for the most part, to the [776]
following effect; "Why do you weary your- [753]
"selves with entreating me?" (speaking as if
he were the god) "if the power to restore the
"woman rested solely with me, I would do it:
"be assured it is all done by the will of the

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* See the form of invocation, p. 99.

787
793 "gods of Bolotoo." Every day he visited the
755 sick girl, occasionally sat down by her, took her
634 hand and shed tears. During this time the ma-
599 tabooles frequently repaired to the house of the
[753] priest, and laying cava before him, consulted
[565] him privately. On one of these occasions, Fi-
[276] now not being present, he told them that if they
knew why the child was sick they would not come thus to invoke him: he then declared, in general terms, that it was for the common good. Finow, being informed of this, addressed the priest at the consultation on the following morning, asking him (or rather the god within him) what he meant by the general good? "If "my spirits are oppressed, are not those of all "my subjects so likewise? but if the gods have "any resentment against us, let the whole "weight of vengeance fall on my head: I fear "not their vengeance,—but spare my child; "and I earnestly entreat you, *Toobo Totái*, to "exert all your influence with the other gods, "that I alone may suffer all the punishment "they desire to inflict." To this the god returned no answer, and the priest retiring among the people, the company separated.

As soon as Finow arrived at his house, his
634 spirits no doubt much agitated, and his pride,
763 in all probability, much hurt, he laid down on
his mat, and felt himself much indisposed. His

der. That they had consequently come to a 634
resolution of saving his life, seeing that his 763
death would be a greater evil to his people than 761
to himself, and of punishing him in another 793
and perhaps more severe way, viz. by the 787
death of his most dear and beloved daughter, 776
who must therefore be inevitably taken from 784
him: for as it had been decreed, beyond all revocation,
that either he or his daughter must 634
die, her life could not be saved without taking 763
away his. As a sort of proof of this decree, he 761
bade them remark that whilst Finow was at 793
this time ill, his daughter was much better, and 787
comparatively full of life and spirits, (which 776
was actually the case.) To-morrow, he said, 784
her father would be tolerably well, for the gods 593
had not decreed his immediate death, but only
a temporary illness, to impress on his mind a
sense of their power, and then his daughter
would relapse, and become as bad or worse than
ever.

The priest being now silent, the chiefs and 634
matabooles left him, with a strong belief of the 763
truths he had been telling them. When they 565
arrived at Finow's house they found him somewhat 793
better, but did not communicate what 784
they had heard from his priest. This however 593 276
was soon rumoured among the other chiefs and 203
matabooles, in the king's *cook-house*, where

634 they generally resort for cava, and which from
763 custom has become a sort of rendezvous to
565 pick up or retail news. Mr. Mariner, who had
793 been with Finow (his patron, father, and pro-
784 tector,) during his illness, coming to the *cook-*
593 *house* and hearing what the priest had said,
[276] went out of curiosity to Finow's daughter, and
[203] was surprised to find her sitting up, eating ripe
bananas, and in very good spirits, talking at intervals to her female attendants.

634 In the evening Finow, feeling himself for
593 the most part recovered, visited his daughter,
763 and found her much worse than, as he was informed, she had been in the morning. He now expressed his intention of passing the night at her house, which he accordingly did. When he awoke in the morning he felt himself perfectly recovered; but going to his daughter's mat, he found, to his utmost grief, that she was worse than ever. In the course of the morning he went down to the sea-shore, to give some orders respecting an alteration he designed in the sail of his canoe, in which he also employed himself (to distract his thoughts probably) the greater part of the day. At night he again
634 slept at the house of his daughter; and very
763 early the following morning gave orders for all
793 his chiefs, mataboołes, and attendants, to go on
787 board his canoes, and gave directions for his
776
784
593
484

daughter also to be carried on board; then following 634
himself, made sail for the island of 763
Ofoo, with intention of consulting *Alái Váloo*, 793
the tutelar god of his aunt *Toe Oomoo*. They 787
arrived after two hours sail; and immediately, 776
on landing, went and presented cava root to 784
the priest of that god (the name of the priest 593
Mr. Mariner has forgotten). In the mean time [484]
the sick child was taken to the god's conse- [276]
crated house. The company being seated in [778]
the presence of the priest, a bowl of cava was
presented to him,—when the god said—"It is
"in vain that you come here to invoke me
"upon a subject on which you have obtained
"all the information that it is necessary for
"you to know. *Toobó Totái* has already in-
"structed you in the will of the gods, and I
"can communicate nothing farther." The
priest having said this, Finow and his attend-
ants rose up and went their way. In the 593
course of the afternoon the supposed victim of 634
divine vengeance was removed to several other 763
consecrated houses in the same island, and was [778]
suffered to remain about half an hour or an [155]
hour in each, with the hope that she would derive benefit from the auspices of either of the deities, who were imagined to reside in those places. Removal, however, appeared to make her worse; and at length she was almost

634 in the ground, the principal chiefs and matabooles
661 requested the prince to intimate to Voona
765 and certain other chiefs, their wish that they should go to the Hapai islands: this he did; but, at the same time, gave them liberty to stop till the funeral ceremony was concluded. Voona received this intimation in a becoming manner, acknowledging the impropriety of his stay, if the people were any way jealous of his presence. The prince apologized for this step, urging the will of his people as his sole motive; and expressed, with great warmth, his wish that he who had been so long his friend and companion could still remain his associate.

765 The following day, at a general assembly of
634 the chiefs and matabooles, after the cava was
276 prepared, and the two first cups handed out,
576 the third, which, according to custom, is presented
[553] to the chief who presides, was next filled; and when an attendant, as usual, declared aloud that the cup was filled, all eyes were fixed on the prince, whilst the mataboole who sat next to him exclaimed, "Give it to Finow!"—and it was accordingly handed to him, whilst he preserved an appearance of perfect unconcern at the name by which, for the
[156] first time, he was called*. And this was a matter of no small importance; for had he ap-

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* See note, p. 370.

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peared elated at this circumstance, he would 634
have been thought a man of a weak mind, little 276
calculated to be a supreme chief: whereas the 576
character of such a personage should be, in 765
their estimation, (and very rightly too,) that of [156]
superiority over the influence of petty passions,
and such trifling emotions as are fit only for the
vulgar tribe of mankind. As soon as all the
cava was served out and drunk, Finow addressed
the company to the following purport.

“ Listen to me, chiefs and warriors!—If 634
“ any among you are discontented with the 537
“ present state of affairs,—now is the time to go 829
“ to Hapai; for no man shall remain at Vavaoo 765
“ with a mind discontented and wandering to
“ other places. I have seen with sorrow the
“ wide destruction occasioned by the unceasing
“ war carried on by the chief now lying in the
“ *malái:* we have indeed been doing a great
“ deal, but what is the result?—the land is de-
“ populated! it is overgrown with weeds, and
“ there is nobody to cultivate it: had we re-
“ mained peaceful, it would have been populous
“ still: the principal chiefs and warriors are
“ fallen, and we must be contented with the
“ society of the lower class. What madness!
“ is not life already too short? Is it not a noble
“ characteristic in a man to remain happy and
“ peaceful in his station? What folly then to

765 634 [537] Finow, having finished his speech, arose and went to his house, accompanied by the sons of his chiefs and matabooles, who, together with his warriors, formed his retinue. 765 634 829 537 241 [574] After a repast, provided beforehand[*], he again made an address, but in a more familiar and conversational way, on the advantages of cultivating land for one's own food, and eating the produce of one's own labour; and to strengthen his argument, he observed, that, hitherto in Tonga, it had been the custom for those who formed the retinue of chiefs to subsist on the provision which those chiefs thought proper to share out to them from their own store: and during the great famine (which happened many years before, while he was yet but a boy), he had remarked that more of these men (chiefs' dependents) had died than of the lower orders, who tilled the ground for their own support, as well as that of their chiefs, because they always found means to reserve food for themselves, however great might be the tax; while those who depended on the bounty of their chiefs got but a very scanty allowance. He then went on, "You do not know how much pleasure such

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[276] [*] They often have cava parties where little is eaten, which was the case with that where he made the above speech; those who are fond of cava seldom eat much with it, conceiving that food destroys its genuine taste, and prevents its due effect upon the system.

765 tions of the deceased chief, together with those
634 who formed his household, and also the women
who were *tabooed* by having touched his dead
body, whilst oiling and preparing it, went to the
back of the island (without any particular order
or ceremony) to procure a number of flat pebbles,
principally white, but a few black, for
which they made baskets on the spot to carry
them in as before mentioned, when they went
to procure sand. With these they returned
to the grave, and strewed the inside of the
house with the white ones, and also the outside
about the *fytoca*, as a decoration to it: the
black pebbles they strewed only upon those
white ones, which covered the ground directly
over the body, to about the length and breadth
of a man, in the form of a very eccentric ellipsis.
[417] After this, the house over the *fytoca* was
closed up at both ends with a reed fencing,
reaching from the eaves to the ground, and, at
the front and back, with a sort of basket-work,
made of the young branches of the cocoa-nut
tree, split and interwoven in a very curious and
ornamental way, to remain till the next burial,
when they are to be taken down, and, after the
conclusion of the ceremony, new ones are to be
[574] put up in like manner. A large quantity of
provisions was now sent to the *malái* by the
[276] chiefs of the different districts of the island,

ready prepared and cooked ; and also a consider- 765
able quantity prepared by Finow's own house- 634
hold : among these provisions was a good supply 574
of cava root. After the chiefs, matabooles, and 276
others, were all assembled, the provisions and
cava were served out in the usual way. During 765
this time no speech was made, nor did any par- 634
ticular occurrence take place. The company
afterwards repaired each to his respective house, 537
and got ready for a grand wrestling-match and 526
entertainment of dancing the Meë too Buggi 535
(literally, the dance, standing up with paddles.
See second volume.)

During the intervals of the dances, several 765
matabooles, warriors, and others, ran before the 634
grave, bruising and cutting their heads with 304
clubs, axes, &c., as proofs of their fidelity to the late chief : among them, two boys, one about twelve, the other about fourteen years of age (sons of matabooles), made themselves very conspicuous in this kind of self infliction ; the youngest in particular, whose father was killed in the service of the late chief, during the great revolution at Tonga, after having given his head two or three hard knocks, ran up to the grave in a fit of enthusiasm, and dashing his club with all his force against the ground, exclaimed, "Finow! why should I attempt "thus to express my love and fidelity towards

668 the better to convince them of this, he feigned
754 to imagine that the bits of buried gnatoo, &c.
634 must have been hidden there by some dogs in
661 their play: by expressing himself in this way,
he was in hopes of emboldening the conspirators
to proceed with less caution in their plan, under
the idea that he was off his guard. All this
precaution, however, and studied policy, were
unnecessary, as no signs of conspiracy became
evident, and, perhaps, no conspiracy existed.
712 In the mean time, the building and fortifying
the garrison with extra ditches went on with
dispatch, and, in a short time, was completed
to the perfect satisfaction of Finow.

486 Shortly after the fortress was finished, a canoe
628 arrived from the Hapai islands with Tonga-
634 mana, a chief of the line of Tooitonga, who
651 came from Toobó Toa, with a request to know
643 how the *inachi** was to be sent to Tooitonga,
seeing that Finow had declared that no commu-
nication whatever was to be kept up with Ha-
[292] pai. As all on board were habited in mats,
[301] with leaves of the ifi tree round their necks, as
a token of submission, and that they came upon
486 a religious duty, they were permitted to land.
628 After having presented cava to several conse-
634 crated houses, they came before Finow, and

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765 * The annual tribute of the first fruits of each island, to
276 Tooitonga.

presented some to him, and then opened to him the subject of their mission, stating that they came with a request from Toobó Toa, that he would grant him permission to present himself at Vavaoo, to pay his last respects to the memory of the late king, by performing the usual ceremonies at his grave; hoping that, although Finow seemed determined to cut off all communication with the Hapai islands, that still he would not carry his decree to such an extent as to form an insuperable bar to the performance of a religious duty, for that he (Toobó Toa) wished to take his last farewell of a great chief, who, while living, he so highly esteemed, and whose memory he had now so much reason to respect. After Finow had heard the subject of the embassy, he said, in reply, that he should consult his chiefs and matabooles as to what measures he ought to take, and would return a definitive answer as soon as possible. Tongamana and his party then rose up and went down to the beach, where their canoe was, and passed the night in the canoe-house. 486 628 634 765 [276] [565]

Immediately after they had departed, Finow held a council with his chiefs and matabooles, the result of which was, that Toobó Toa should be allowed to send the *inachi*, provided Tongamana's canoe only was sent, and that this particular canoe should be allowed to come on any 486 628 634 651 765

727 very difficult to remove their scruples, by assuring
609 them that they should not be molested. At
648 length, however, they consented to remain, on
his promise to take care of them, and to roll
them all up in a sail, in which state they laid
the whole night in the steerage; and, as they
648 said, slept comfortably. As to Finow, he was
very well contented with sleeping on a sail on
[634] the cabin deck. As the weather was remarkably
fine, the brig did not come to an anchor, but
stood off and on during the whole of the night.
At daylight canoes came alongside in great
numbers; but from prudent motives, dictated
by former disasters, no more than three of the
natives were allowed to come on board at a
time, six centinels being kept constantly on deck
648 for that purpose. In the canoes were several
634 chiefs, who came to request Finow to return on
shore, as the people were greatly alarmed lest
he should form a determination of going to
[276] Papalangi (land of white people). They brought
off some cava for him, but which he declined
drinking, saying that he had tasted some on
board (wine) which was far preferable: indeed,
he considered it so much superior, that the
thoughts of cava quite disgusted him. He made
a hearty dinner at the captain's table—ate plenty
of roast pork, with which he admired very much
the flavour of the sage and onions: the fowls

diately from the gods, as visitations for their 784
crimes.

There is no public religious rite whatsoever, 276
and scarcely any in private, but of which the 574
ceremony of drinking cava forms a usual and 128
often a most important part; for which reason,
although cava is taken on other occasions several times daily, we shall endeavour to give a full description of its preparation and form of distribution, before we proceed to those ceremonies which are more strictly religious.

The root which they term cáva, and by 276
which name the plant producing it is also [192]
called, belongs to a species of the pepper plant: [197]
it is known by the same name at the Fiji islands;
but at the Navigator's islands, (which the Tonga people also visit), at the Society islands, and the Sandwich islands, it is universally called
ava. At all these places it is used for the same [191]
or similar purposes.

The state in which it is taken is that of infu- 276
sion: it is drunk every day by chiefs, mata- 574
booles, and others, as a luxury: the form of [565]
preparing and serving it out is the same, whether
at a large party or a small one: the greatest order is observed during the whole time, and the rank of persons is particularly attended to. The following description we shall suppose to be of some grand occasion, either religious or

276 574 political. At all cava parties, provisions are also shared out; but the habitual cava drinkers seldom eat more than a mouthful, and this they do to prevent the infusion, when drunk in large quantities, from affecting the stomach with nausea; but there are a few who will not even use this precaution. When the party is very large, it is held on a *málai*, for the sake of room; the chief who presides sitting within the eaves of the house. The time of the day is indifferent: small cava parties are frequently held by torch-light; but for religious ceremonies, whether of large or small parties, mostly in the morning. [562] [565] Women of rank never attend large public cava parties.

276 574 565 In the first place, we shall endeavour to describe the form and order in which the company and attendants sit. The chief who presides, and who is always the greatest chief present, sits about two feet, or perhaps three, within the eaves of the house*, on the matting which constitutes the flooring, with his face towards the open malái, into which the circle on either side extends. On his right and left hand sits a mataboole: both these order and arrange the ceremonies alternately in the manner directly to be shewn, and whom, for the

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[342] * It must be recollected, their houses are rather of an oval form, closed at the two ends and open in the front and back, the eaves coming within about four feet of the ground.

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sake of distinction, we shall call presiding matabooles. 276 On the lower hand of either of them 574 sits the next greatest chief present, and another, 565 who may be his equal or a little inferior to him, on the opposite side, near the other mataboole: after these, come other chiefs, matabooles, and mooas, sitting more or less according to their rank; for as it frequently happens that the higher chiefs are not the first that come, the places due to their rank are found occupied by persons inferior to them, and rather than disturb the company, they take their seats a little out of the proper order; but for a general rule, the higher chiefs sit towards the top; for it is not so much in the order of sitting that their rank is paid respect to, as in the order of their being served, which is done with the most scrupulous exactness. It is the characteristic of a mataboole, to know how to serve out cava and provisions according to the rank of individuals, so as not to give offence. Thus, the ring extends itself on either hand of the presiding chief, but it is in general not an exact circle, the greatest diameter dividing the top from the bottom, which last is rather less curved than the top. About one third of the ring which constitutes the bottom, is generally occupied by the young chiefs and sons of matabooles belonging to the chief who presides; and in the mid-

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dle of these, exactly opposite the chief, sits the man who is to mix and prepare the cava after it is chewed: he is generally a mooa, tooa, or cook, though sometimes a chief; at any rate, he must be able to perform his task, which is not an easy one at large parties, with strength, dexterity, and grace. Behind those at the bottom of the ring, sits the body of the people, which, on extraordinary occasions, may consist of three or four thousand individuals, chiefly men; the number of women being comparatively small. If either of the presiding matabooles now discovers any person of rank sitting much below the place he ought to occupy, he desires the individual who sits in that place to change situations with him; or if he sees a chief coming after the ring is formed, he orders one of those who is seated to get up and retire, and he calls out to the chief by his name, saying, "here is a place for you."

Before we go further, we must make an important distinction between what we have here called the bottom and the rest of the ring: the latter, beginning with the chief, and advancing onwards on either side, constituting about two thirds of the whole ring, consists of but a single row of individuals, and this, for the sake of distinction, we shall denominate the superior circle; the bottom, which may be considered only

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the front of the body of the people, we shall name the inferior circle; and the body of the people, who are closely seated together indiscriminately*, we shall call the exterior circle. No person, though he be a chief of high rank, can sit in the superior circle at the same time that his father is there, (or any superior relation), even though he be at a considerable distance; and if he be already seated there, when his father comes, he must necessarily retire to the inferior or exterior circle, no matter which, out of respect to his superior relation: in either of the other circles, however, father and son may sit near to each other if they please; on this account, the superior circle is alone considered the true cava party; all the rest, both inferior and exterior, being rather to be considered attendants, and persons looking on, although several of them frequently obtain their share of provisions and cava, according to the quantity that there may be. From this circumstance, it happens, that the inferior ring is generally composed of the sons of those chiefs and matabooles, who belong to the presiding chief, (forming his *cow nofo*), and who are perhaps situated in the superior or true ring: from this cause it also often happens, that very great chiefs are seated

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* *i. e.* One row behind another, with their faces towards the chief.

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276 in the exterior circle; it being thought no par-
574 ticular advantage to be in the inferior, unless
565 for those who wish to be assiduous in serving
561 out the cava, which is an honourable office. During the late king's life, his son, the present king, usually sat in the inferior or exterior circle, and assisted in chewing the root and serving it out.

276 The company being thus all arranged, the provisions, if they have not been already brought, are now fetched by the cooks belonging to the chief at the head of the company, and who do this without receiving any orders. If the cava is not already brought, one of the presiding matabooles perhaps calls out to one of the cooks in the exterior ring, who immediately rises and advances through the inferior ring towards the mataboole, and, sitting down before him, receives orders to go to the chief's home, and fetch such a root or such a quantity of cava: when he returns he enters the ring as before, through the inferior circle, bearing the cava root in his arms: if the provisions are coming in at the same time, the man with the cava advances at the head, amidst the thanks of the company, and proceeds close up to the chief and sits down, laying the cava root before him: the provisions are placed about eight or ten paces off, on the ground, when the cooks

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who brought them immediately retire to their places in the exterior circle. In the mean while, the man who has brought the cava remains seated before the chief till he receives orders from the same presiding mataboole, to take the cava root to be broken up and chewed: he accordingly rises and carries the root to the man opposite the chief, who sits in the middle of the inferior circle: he places the root immediately before him, and retires to his seat. The root is now split up with an axe, or any such instrument, into small pieces, by the man who is to mix the cava, and those about him; and being thus sufficiently divided and scraped clean with muscle shells, &c. it is handed out to those sitting in the inferior and exterior circle, to be chewed. There is now heard a universal buzz throughout this part of the company, which forms a curious contrast to the silence that reigned before; several crying out from all quarters, *my ma cava; my, my ma cava; my he cava;* give me some cava; give me cava; some cava: each of those who intend to chew it, crying out for some to be handed to them. No one offers to chew the cava but young persons who have good teeth, clean mouths, and have no colds: women frequently assist. It is astonishing how remarkably dry they preserve the root, while it is undergoing this process of

276 mastication. In about two minutes, each person having chewed his quantity, takes it out of his mouth with his hand, and puts it on a piece of plantain or banana leaf, or sometimes he raises the leaf to his mouth, and puts it off his tongue in the form of a ball, of tolerable consistence, (particularly if it be dry cava root). The different portions of cava being now all chewed, which is known by the silence that ensues, nobody calling for any, some one takes the wooden bowl* from the exterior circle, and places it on the ground before the man who is to make the infusion. In the mean while, each person who sits at any distance from the inferior circle, passes on his portion of chewed root, so that it is conveyed from one to another till it is received by three or four persons, who are actively engaged in the front of the inferior circle, going from one side to the other collecting it, and depositing it in the wooden bowl: it is not, however, thrown in promiscuously, but in such a way, that each portion is distinct and separate from the rest, till at length the whole inside of the vessel becomes thickly studded, beginning at the bottom and going up on every side towards the rim: this is done that a judgment may afterwards be formed of the

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415 * The bowl used at a large party is about three feet in diameter, and about one foot in depth in the centre.

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quantity of beverage that it will make: as each portion is disengaged from its leaf, the leaf is thrown any where on the ground.

The cava being thus deposited in the bowl, those persons who had been busy collecting it retire to their places and sit down: the man before whom the bowl is placed, now tilts it up a little towards the chief that he may see the quantity of its contents, saying, *coe cava heni gooa ma*, this is the cava chewed: if the chief (having consulted the mataboole), thinks there is not enough, he says, *oofi-oofi, bea how he tangáta*, cover it over, and let there come a man here; the bowl is then covered over with a plantain or banana leaf, and a man goes to the same presiding mataboole to receive more cava root, to be chewed as before; but if it be thought there is a sufficiency, he says, *paloo*, mix. The two men, who sit one on each side of him who is to prepare the cava, now come forward a little, and making a half turn, sit opposite to each other, the bowl being between them: one of these fans off the flies with a large leaf, while the other sits ready to pour in the water from cocoa nut shells*, one at a time.

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* These shells are whole, having merely two small holes at the top: the large ones are always chosen for this purpose: the nuts destined for this use are filled with salt water, and buried in the sand until the inside becomes decayed or

276 Before this is done, however, the man who is about to mix, having first rinsed his hands with a little of the water, kneads together (the mataboole having said *paloo*) the chewed root, gathering it up from all sides of the bowl and compressing it together; upon this, the mataboole says, *lingi he vy*, pour in the water, and the man on one side of the bowl continues pouring, fresh shells being handed to him, until the mataboole thinks there is sufficient, which he announces by saying, *mow he vy*, stop the water: he now discontinues pouring, and takes up a leaf to assist the other in fanning. The mataboole now says, *paloo ger tattow, bea fucca mow*, mix it every where equally, and make it firm, i. e. bring the dregs together in a body.

Things being thus far prepared, the mataboole says, *y he fow*, put in the fow*: a large quantity of this fibrous substance, sufficient to cover the whole surface of the infusion, is now put in by one of those who sit by the side of the bowl, and it floats upon the surface. The man who manages the bowl now begins his dif-

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415 rather deliquescent, when it is poured out, and the inside well washed.

* The *fow* is the bark of a tree stripped into small fibres, and has very much the appearance of the willow shavings that are used in England to decorate fire-places in summer time.

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ficult operation. In the first place, he extends his left hand to the farther side of the bowl, with the fingers pointing downwards, and the palm towards himself; he sinks that hand carefully down the side of the bowl, carrying with it the edge of the *fow;* at the same time his right hand is performing a similar operation at the side next to him, the fingers pointing downwards, and the palm presenting outwards. He does this slowly, from side to side, gradually descending deeper and deeper, till his fingers meet each other at the bottom, so that nearly the whole of the fibres of the root are by these means enclosed in the *fow*, forming as it were a roll of above two feet in length, lying along the bottom from side to side, the edges of the *fow* meeting each other underneath. He now carefully rolls it over, so that the edges overlapping each other, or rather intermingling, come uppermost. He next doubles in the two ends, and rolls it carefully over again, endeavouring to reduce it to a narrower and firmer compass. He now brings it cautiously out of the fluid, taking firm hold of it by the two ends, one in each hand (the back of the hands being upwards), and raising it breast high, with his arms considerably extended, he brings his right hand towards his breast, moving it gradually onwards, and whilst his left hand is coming round towards

276 his right shoulder, his right hand partially twisting the *fow*, lays the end which it holds upon the left elbow, so that the *fow* lies thus extended upon that arm, one end being still grasped by the left hand. The right hand being now at liberty, is brought under the left fore arm (which still remains in the same situation), and carried outwardly towards the left elbow, that it may again seize in that situation the end of the *fow*. The right hand then describes a bold curve outwardly from the chest, whilst the left comes across the chest, describing a curve nearer to him, and in the opposite direction, till at length the left hand is extended from him, and the right approaches to the left shoulder, gradually twisting the *fow* by the turn and flexures principally of that wrist: this double motion is then retraced, but in such a way (the left wrist now principally acting), that the *fow*, instead of being untwisted, is still more twisted, and is at length again placed upon the left arm, while he takes a new and less constrained hold *. Thus the hands and arms per-

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[124] * This is described from seeing Mr. Mariner mimic the action; and I have given a minute account of it, because it is an operation which the natives greatly admire when well performed. Jeremiah Higgins was singularly pleased with the accuracy of the description, which he said brought past times so clearly to his mind. Every thing, in short, tends to prove to me the correctness of Mr. Mariner's details.

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form a variety of curves of the most graceful 276 description: the muscles both of the arms and chest are seen rising as they are called into action, displaying what would be a fine and uncommon subject of study for the painter, for no combinations of animal action can develope the swell and play of the muscles with more grace or with better effect. The degree of strength which he exerts when there is a large quantity is very great, and the dexterity with which he accomplishes the whole never fails to excite the attention and admiration of all present: every tongue is mute, and every eye is upon him, watching each motion of his arms, as they describe the various curvilinear turns essential to the success of the operation. Sometimes the fibres of the *fow* are heard to crack with the increasing tension, yet the mass is seen whole and entire, becoming more thin as it becomes more twisted, while the infusion drains from it in a regularly decreasing quantity, till at length it denies a single drop. He now gives it to a person on his left side, and receives fresh *fow* from another in attendance on his right, and begins the operation anew, with a view to collect what before might have escaped him; and so on, even a third time, till no dregs are left, save what are so fine and so equally diffused

276 through the whole liquid as not to be thus separated *.

276 574 415 During the above operation, various people in the exterior circle are employed making cava cups of the unexpanded leaf of the banana tree, which is cut into lengths of about nine inches, each piece being then unfolded is nearly square; the two ends are next plaited up in a particular manner, and tied with a fibre of the stem of the leaf, forming a very elegant cup, not unworthy of imitation. These leaves are provided beforehand, as well as the water, the bowl, &c. by the cooks. 276 574 Sometimes it happens that there is not

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[555] * No man undertakes to perform this operation at a large party but who has been well practised on smaller occasions: for it is considered a great accomplishment, even worthy of a chief: but a failure on such an occasion would look very bad: Mr. Mariner, however, never witnessed one. The cava dregs which have been thus put aside are afterwards taken away by the cooks, and chewed over again to make fresh infusion for themselves. [515] [264] The disgusted reader will here perhaps call to mind the assertion we have formerly made, that no nation can excel the Tonga people in personal cleanliness, and will regret that they are not equally clean in their food. If this objection were made to a native, he would say, "it is "not indeed very cleanly, for we would not eat a piece of "yam which another had bitten; but chewing the cava is an "ancient practice, and we think nothing of it: but what," he will perhaps add, "can be more filthy and disgusting "than the Papalangi practice of drinking the milk of a beast, "and giving it to your children for food?"—Every country has its customs.

water enough, in which case off starts some one from the exterior circle to fetch more, running as if it were for his life, and twenty more after him, each anxious to shew his readiness in arriving first with the water: in a short time, if these do not return, twenty or thirty more will rush off with equal swiftness: presently after they are seen coming back, forty or fifty in number, at full speed, with three or four cocoa nutshells of water; or if any thing else is wanted, it is fetched in the same prompt way.

In the meanwhile, also, the *fono*, or provisions to be eaten with the cava, is shared out. This generally consists of yams, ripe bananas, or plantains, in sufficient quantity that each in the superior circle may have a small portion to eat after his dish of cava. The mataboole calls out for somebody to come and divide the *fono*: a couple generally advance forward and proceed to make the division. A large portion is first separated, and presented to the presiding chief, by laying it before him; this being done, the mataboole orders the remainder to be divided equally between the two sides, left and right, of the superior circle; each person has consequently a portion presented to him in the order in which he sits. This operation takes up about three or four minutes, and is per-

276 formed quietly, when the man at the bowl begins
514 to wring out the cava.

The infusion of cava being now strained, the performance of which generally occupies about a quarter of an hour or twenty minutes, the man at the bowl calls out *gooa ma he cavane*, the cava is clear: the mataboole replies, *fucca tow*, squeeze out, alluding to the peculiar operation of filling the cups. Two or three from the inferior or exterior circle, now come forward and sit down near the bowl, bringing with them and placing on the ground several of the cups: one then rises and holds with both hands a cup to be filled, standing a little on one side, and holding the cup over the middle of the bowl, so that his body does not obstruct the view of those at the top of the superior circle. The man who manages the bowl fills the cup by dipping in a portion of *fow* rolled together, and which, when replete with the liquid, he holds over the cup, compressing it so that the infusion falls into it, to the quantity of about the third of a pint. The one who has the cup now turns and stands a little on one side, with his face towards the chief: at the same time one of those who have been described, sitting by the side of the bowl and employed fanning it, cries out with a loud voice, *cava gooa heca*, the cava is deposited (i. e. in the cup): the mataboole replies, *angi ma*

——, give it to ——, naming the party 276
who is to have it, who, hearing his name an- 574
nounced, claps the hollow part of his hands together twice (unless it be the presiding chief), to signify whereabout he is seated: the cup-bearer then advances and presents it standing, unless it be to a great chief at Tooitonga's cava party, when he presents it sitting.

We must now describe the order in which 276
the different individuals in the company are 574
served, which is a most important part of the 576
ceremony, and requires all the attention of the presiding mataboole. It must be noticed as a general rule, that the chief at the head of the circle receives either the first or third cup; the third cup, however, is properly his due: the first, according to old established custom, the mataboole orders to be given to his fellow mataboole on the other side of the chief, unless there be a chief or mataboole from another island in company; it is then given to him, as being a visitor. If there be a person in the circle who has made a present of the cava, the first cup is given in compliment to him. But supposing that the cava was not a present, and there are two or more visitors in company of about equal rank, and the mataboole is in doubt which of them ought to have it, to avoid giving offence he orders it to be given to the presiding

276 574 576 chief; and this is the only case in which the chief at the head of the company gets the first cup; the other mataboole then receives the second, the third falls to the lot of the chief next in rank to the president, and so on, without farther hesitation, to every one according to his rank. So that the president either has the first or third cup, and the mataboole who is not giving directions either has the first or second cup: but to render this important piece of Tonga ceremony more clear, we shall suppose the several possible instances, and state the order of the service in each. The person whom we here call the mataboole is one of those two sitting by the side of the president, and who is not actually giving directions; for one mataboole only regulates the serving out of each bowl; and if the bowl is filled a second time, the other mataboole directs the ceremonies, and so on alternately.

1st. Where the cava is a present, and the giver is in company, the order is thus: the giver; the mataboole; the president.

2d. The cava not being a present, or the giver not in company, but there being a visitor, thus: the visitor; the mataboole; the president.

3d. There being two or more visitors of nearly

equal rank, and the master of the ceremonies 276
not knowing how to choose without giving 574
offence, thus: the president; the mataboole; 576
the chief next below the president in rank.

4th. There being no visitor present, thus: the mataboole; the chief next in rank to the president; the president.

Hence it will appear that the giver of the cava, in those instances where it is a present, has the first cup, in preference to any body else; at least this is generally the case, unless there be a visitor present, who is evidently superior in rank to him: on such an occasion the visitor would be preferred to the giver, and the mataboole would have the second, the president the third, and the giver would not obtain any till it came in the usual way to his turn according to his rank. If it be doubtful whether the giver or the visitor ought to have the preference, then, to avoid giving offence, the president gets it. So that in all cases the principal difficulty is in the disposal of the first three cups; all the remainder being served out according to rank. If in the course of serving it out there be two persons of equal rank, the one sitting nearest the chief will be supplied first.

At large cava parties very few, in proportion to the immense multitude present, get served

276 574 576 with this infusion; but there must always be enough for the superior circle, and for their relations who may be either in the inferior or exterior: which latter, who, for reasons before given, do not sit in the upper circle, are served nevertheless in the order of their rank, or nearly so. One thing more is to be observed; viz. when a cup of cava is announced to be given to a person whose superior relation is present, that superior relation has a right to counter-order it, which he does by calling out, "give it to ——," mentioning the name of some individual whom he chooses should have it in preference to his inferior relation; and this is often done.

276 574 When the bowl is emptied, if the chief thinks proper, he orders another to be got ready; or if any person in company sends away for some cava root, to make a present of it to the chief, a fresh quantity must be prepared; but the president himself often sends away for a second, a third, and even a fourth supply of cava root. Each bowl must be served round as long as it will last: when the individuals of the superior circle, and the persons related to them, are served, if any remains, it is given out to others in the inferior and exterior circles; no person receiving two cups out of the same bowl. When a second bowl is filled, it is served out the same as the first, i. e. not beginning where the first

left off, but commencing and going on with the 276
same individuals as if it were the first bowl; 574
the third in the like manner, &c. Every bowl [262]
is provided with a fresh quantity of *fono*, or victuals [264]
to be eaten with the cava, and which are shared out in the same way as before: these generally consist of yams, bananas, or plantains, but sometimes a baked pig is brought, in which case the liver and a yam is the portion presented to the chief; if fowls are brought, the skin of the throat, and the rump, are the president's share. If, before the conclusion, any one in the superior circle wishes to leave, he says to the chief, *Iky' teoo mow cava*, I cannot provide cava; and, with this apology, he leaves: or, if he has actually provided cava, he has only to state some reason for his leaving the company, such as going to another island, or to superintend some work.

It has been noticed, that there are two ma- 276
tabooles, one on each side of the president, 574
who direct the ceremonies; but it must be 565
mentioned, that only one of them regulates the preparation and sharing out of each bowl: i. e. one regulates the first bowl, and the other the second, and so on alternately. They generally sit close to the chief, except when Tooitonga presides, and then there is an intervening space, between him and them, of about six feet, or ra-

276 ther more. No chief comes to an inferior
574 chief's cava party, or, if any extraordinary cir-
565 cumstance was to make this necessary, the inferior would be obliged to retire to his own ex-
276 terior circle, and the superior visitor would pre-
574 side: for the greatest chief present must always
565 preside, unless there be an inspired priest, then
576 *he* sits at the head of the circle, and the greatest
[793] chief in company, who would otherwise have
[787] that honourable situation, now retires, with other chiefs, to the exterior circle, not out of respect to the priest, who may be only a mooa, but out of veneration to the god supposed to exist within him; so that the superior circle, in such a case, consists principally of mataboolės and mooas; for chiefs may be looked upon as distant relations to the gods, and no person may sit in the upper circle along with his superior relation; besides it is an act of humility
[796] demonstrating great respect. When a priest presides, which is the case at all religious ceremonies, except where they are consulting a god who has no priest*, the latter always

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[776] * When a god has no priest, as Tali-y-Toobó, for instance, no person actually presides at the head of his cava circle, the place being left apparently vacant, but which, it is supposed,
[778] the god invisibly occupies. On such occasions the cava party is always held before the house consecrated to the god: (as in the commencement of the illness of Finow's daughter.) And they go through the usual form of words, as if the first

has the first cup; the presiding mataboole, 276
not actually officiating, has the second; the 574
third, fourth, fifth, and perhaps sixth cups, are 565
given to the next higher persons in the superior 576
circle; and then the chiefs who have retired to 796
the exterior circle are, out of respect, helped;
but this rests at the option of the officiating
mataboole; afterwards the remainder of the
superior circle are served.

At smaller cava parties, the forms and words 276
of ceremony are precisely the same; but when 574
a priest does not preside, familiar conversation,
and even joke and merriment, are indulged
in. On all occasions every individual pays the [291]
greatest attention to his dress, that it be decorous and well tied on, that is, with neatness*.

We have been particular in the description of 796
the ceremony of preparing and drinking this in- 128

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cup was actually filled and presented to the god: thus, [776]
before any cup is filled, the man by the side of the bowl says, [778]
Cava gooa héca, The cava is deposited (in the cup): the mataboole answers, *Angi ma ho egi,* Give it to your god; but this is mere form, for there is no cup filled for the god.

* Some of our readers will perhaps find some difficulty in believing this, but nothing is more true than that the Tonga people of any degree of rank are very particular in regard of their personal cleanliness and neatness of dress; insomuch that a man will often refuse to join a neighbouring cava party, because the *gnatoo* which he happens to have on may not be so new or so good as he could wish.

276 fusion, because it sets in so strong a light the
574 manners and customs of the people, and because
796 it so frequently accompanies almost every
128 kind of religious ceremony. It is not pretended, however, that drinking cava is essential to every religious ceremony, or to most of them, but that it is the custom to take it generally on such occasions. These religious ceremonies we shall now describe, and shall take them nearly in the order in which, by the natives, they are considered of most importance, or most sacred; viz. *Inachi; Fúccaláhi; cáva fúcca egi; Towtow; Nawgía; Tootooníma; Boótoo; Langi; Taboo; Fóta; Mõë-mõë; toógoo cava.*

Although the ceremony of *inachi* was entirely
651 abrogated by Finow just before Mr. Mariner
796 left Vavaoo, we place it first in rank, because it
[634] always used to be considered of the utmost importance before it was done away with; besides which, it was a ceremony which affected the property of every individual in Vavaoo, and al the Hapai islands, and formerly in the island of Tonga also.

INACHI. This word means, literally, a share
[643] or portion of any thing that is to be or has been distributed out: but in the sense here mentioned it means that portion of the fruits of the earth, and other eatables, which is offered to the gods in the person of the divine chief Tooitonga, which

which his servants, without farther orders, take 651
away to his house, and the remainder is taken 796
away by Tooitonga's servants. It may seem [776]
strange that the latter has a smaller share than [793]
the king, but then he has not a quarter the number [643]
of dependents to divide it among.

The materials of the *Inachi* being removed,
the company form a regular cava party: some 651
cava root is brought and prepared, and a large 796
quantity of dressed victuals, perhaps a hundred 276
and fifty baskets-full; a small portion of which 574
is shared out to be eaten with the cava. While the infusion is preparing, a mataboole makes a speech to the people, stating, that as they have performed this important ceremony, the gods will protect them, and grant them long lives, provided they continue to pay due attention to religious ceremonies, and to pay respect to the chiefs. When the cava is finished, the circle separates, and the provisions are shared out to
each chief according to his rank. The day concludes 651
with wrestling, boxing, &c. after which 796
night dances commence. When these are ended, [526]
the people retire home, perfectly assured of the [535]
protection of the gods.

At this ceremony, the quantity of provisions 651
shared out is incredible; the people, therefore, 796
look upon it as a very heavy tribute, 574
though in fact the owners of the plantations

651 (chiefs, matabooles, &c.) are at the expense of
796 it; yet as there is much more provided than
574 what is eaten, it helps to increase the scarcity
if the season should not be abundant: but it is
so much the custom at Tonga to make liberal
and profuse presents, that the people generally
either feast or starve. Sometimes it happens
that several great feasts are given nearly about
the same time; as for instance, the occasion of
the Inachi; the arrival of some chief from a
distant island, after a long absence; the marriage
or death of some great chief, as of Tooitonga
[261 himself, &c. These feasts threaten a
784] scarcity; to prevent which, a *ta'boo* or prohibition
is put upon several kinds of food, that they
may not be eaten for a certain length of time,
at the termination of which they perform the
following ceremony, which takes off the *taboo*:
a famine or war may also occasion a necessity
for this *ta'boo* to be imposed.

796 Fuccalahi, i. e. to make all at large or free
again; or to take off a restriction. As the mode
796 of performing this ceremony has already been
276 described, (see Vol. I. p. 120.) and the particular
objects of it mentioned, (p. 113, same
vol.) nothing farther need now be said upon
the subject, except that it is generally concluded
with a cava party.

[574 793 787] Cava Fucca egi: this consists in a cava

party, where an inspired priest sits at the head; 796
the circumstances of inspiration we have already 276
related, (Vol. I. p. 99.) and the form of serving [574]
out the cava when a priest presides, (Vol. II. [793]
p. 194.) The phrase *cava fucca egi* means lite- [787]
rally, *a god-like cava.* Laying a small piece of [769]
cava root before the grave of a chief or consecrated house, out of respect to a god, or to a deceased relation, is called *toogoo cava*, and will be mentioned in its proper order.

Tow-tow is an offering of yams, cocoa-nuts, 796
and other vegetable productions to A'lo A'lo 782
(the god of weather) in particular, and to all [821]
the gods in general, for the purpose of ensuring [776]
a continuation of favourable weather, and consequent fertility. This ceremony is first performed at the time when the yams are approaching maturity, in the early part of November, and is repeated every ten days for seven or eight times. On the day appointed by the priest of A'lo A'lo, every plantation on the three parts of the island, viz. the *hahagi*, *mooa*, and *hihifo*[*] districts provide a certain quantity of yams, cocoa-nuts, sugar-canes, bananas, plantains, &c. all which are brought to the *maläi*, tied upon sticks, so that each stick, when held horizontally, has

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[*] *Hahagi* is the north end of any island; *hihifo* the south [823]
end: the *mooa* part of the island being the centre. [192]
[103]

784 or garments of Tooitonga, there is no other
643 chief can relieve him from his *taboo*, because no
415 chief is equal to him in rank; and, to avoid the
778 inconvenience arising from his absence, a consecrated
bowl (or some such thing), belonging
to Tooitonga, is applied to and touched, instead
of his feet. In Mr. Mariner's time, Tooitonga
always left a pewter dish for this purpose, which
dish was given to his father by Captain Cook.
784 Véachi usually adopted a similar plan. Cava,
276 either the root or the infusion, cannot be tabooed
by the touch of any chief of what rank
soever; so that a common *tooa* may chew cava
which even Tooitonga has touched.

Toogoo Ca'va. This ceremony consists in
796 merely leaving a small piece of cava root before
782 a consecrated house or grave, out of respect to
276 a god, or to the departed spirit of a chief or relation,
788 at the same time the ceremony of *toogi*
or beating the cheeks is performed, as related
(Vol. I. p. 89.) The *toogi*, which is performed
at burials, is of a more serious nature.

Lotoo is the term used for praying; but it
782 is more commonly applied to prayers offered up
in the fields to all the gods, but particularly to
Alo Alo, petitioning for a good harvest. It
will be also recollected, that prayers are offered
up before consecrated houses and graves.

787 As omens, to which they give a considerable

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

CHAPTER XXIII.

**General habits of chiefs, matabooles, mooas, women and 000
children—Quotation from Cook's Voyages, affording a very correct view of their public festivals and rejoicings in honour of illustrious visitors, and describing very accurately their boxing and wrestling matches, and sundry dances: the whole including a point of time when Captain Cook and his companions were to have been assassinated by the natives—An account of their different dances and songs—Specimen of their songs in rhyme—Specimens of their music—An account of their various sports and games—The pastimes of a day, with an account of an extraordinary character—Conclusion.**

UNDER the head of religion, we have given a 128
cursory view of the general habits of Tooitonga, Veachí, and the priests: we shall now set forth, in a similar manner, those of the rest of society, as they regard chiefs, matabooles, mooas, tooas, women and children.

Respecting the general habits of chiefs, ma- 565
tabooles, and mooas; the higher chiefs seldom 571
if ever associate freely together, unless at the 276
morning cava parties, and those meetings are 574
to be considered, in a great measure, as visits of
custom and form. The matabooles and mooas [576]

565 freely associate with the chiefs to whom they
571 belong; they are their necessary attendants at
276 cava parties, &c. and form the bulk of their
574 fighting men and followers: they not only associate
576 freely with one another, but also with the
followers of other high chiefs, and even with those high chiefs themselves, without any reserve, excepting the requisite ceremonies of respect which occasion may require.

Every high or governing chief has his *cow*
565 *nofo* (those who settle or dwell with him), or,
621 as they are sometimes called, *cow-mea* (adherents),
622 who consist of inferior chiefs and matabooles:
624 each of these inferior chiefs has his
[701] *cow-tangata*, or body of fighting men, consisting
chiefly of mooas: the matabooles have no *cow-tangata*. The retinue, or *cow-nofo*, of a great chief, therefore, consists of inferior chiefs (with their *cow-tangatas*) and matabooles; and the retinue or *cow-tangata* of an inferior chief consists of mooas, and perhaps, also, a few tooas,
[361] who have been found brave fellows. A great
number of these *cow-nofo*, perhaps about eighty or ninety, actually dwell in and near the superior chief's fencing (each fencing having many houses), whilst there are many others who sleep and pass a great portion of their time at their own plantations; for not only inferior chiefs, but also matabooles and mooas, have plantations

concealed by the folds that go round the waist. 291
There is some little difference in the way in 512
which females adjust their *gnatoos*, but the
chief distinction of their dress is a small mat *,
which they wear round the middle, and is about
a foot in breadth. Pregnant women, and old
women, wear their dress in front so as to cover
the breasts. Children are not encumbered
with dress when at home till they are about two
years old: when they go out, they have a piece
of *gnatoo* wrapped round them.

Having bathed, oiled, and dressed them- 512
selves, the chiefs hold cava parties, at which 276
women seldom attend, for as they are no great 574
cava drinkers, they generally form a circle of [562]
their own, and eat a meal; they take cava,
however, at the same time, in a small quantity;
whilst the men, on the contrary, take a large
quantity of cava, and most of them very little
food, as they generally eat a hearty meal about
the middle of the day. The morning cava party
usually lasts from two to five hours, according to
the pleasure of the chiefs. After cava, the old 512
men generally retire to their houses to sleep, or 484
to amuse themselves with farther conversation. 517
The younger ones follow the example or wishes
of their superior chiefs, and make an excursion

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* It would be considered highly indecorous and contrary to the tàboo for females to appear without this mat.

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the pigeon's head, was Tui Tonga. The brother of Kauulufonuafekai, 643 Moungamotua, was appointed Tui Haatakalaua (*tui*, king; *haa*, family; 173 Takalaua, his father's name) and he went and lived at "Kauhalalalo" in Fonuamotu near Loamanu (at Mua, Tongatabu), in order to rule from there the land. And he was to be called Tui Haatakalaua. Moungamotua was the first Tui Haatakalaua, the brother of Kauulufonuafekai, the Tui Tonga.

Kauulufonuafekai was the first to arrange that the *apaapa*, or master [276] of ceremonies in the kava ring, should sit at a distance, not near to him, [574] because he was afraid of being murdered, as his father, the Tui Tonga Takalaua, was murdered. Therefore the kava ring was formed so that the people in it sat at a distance from the chief. He instructed some of his brothers to sit at his back to guard him lest he should be murdered. The name given to those brothers that sat behind him, was *huhueiki* (*huhu*, to suspect; *eiki*, chief).

Another Tui Tonga was Vakafuhu; another was Puipuifatu; another was called Kauulufonua; another Tui Tonga was Tapuosi I., and another Tui Tonga was Uluakimata I., (Telea). His vessel was called Lomipeau (*lomi*, keep under; *peau*, waves). That was the ship that often went to Uea to cut and load stones for the terraces (*paepae*) of the royal tombs. Paepae o Telea is the name of the grave yard of the Tui Tonga Telea. Fatafehi he was the son of Telea; his mother was Mataukipa. Another Tui Tonga was Tapuosi II., and another Tui Tonga was Uluakimata II. His sons were the Tui Tonga Tui Pulotu I. and his brother, Tokemoana. The latter was appointed Tui Haauluakimata (*tui*, ruler; *haa*, family; Uluakimata, his father's name). Their sister Sinaitakala, was the female Tui Tonga; Fatani was their brother, also Faleafu, all of one father.

The son of Tui Pulotu was Fakanaanaa and he was Tui Tonga; another Tui Tonga was Tui Pulotu II.; and another Tui Tonga was Maulupekotofa. The son of Pau was Fatafehi Fuanunuiava, and the son of Fuanunuiava was Laufilitonga, the Tui Tonga that is alive in the world. That is the end of the Tui Tonga. The old Tui Tonga, the offspring of the Worm, are gone. The list of female Tui Tonga is not given, but only the list of the male Tui Tonga.

Here are their names in order: (1) Ahoeitu, (2) Lolofakangalo, (3) Fangaoneone, (4) Lihau, (5) Kofutu, (6) Kaloa, (7) Mauhau, (8) Apuanea, (9) Afulunga, (10) Momo, (11) Tuitatui, (12) Talaatama, (13) Tui Tonga Nui Tama Tou, (14) Talaihaapepe, (15) Talakaifaiki, (16) Talafapite, (17) Tui Tonga Maakatoe, (18) Tui Tonga i Puipui, (19) Havea I., (20) Tatafueikimeimua, (21) Lomiaetupua, (22) Havea II., (23) Takalaua, (24) Kauulufonuafekai, (25) Vakafuhu, (26) Puipuifatu,

5: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

that they moved from Heketa to Fangalongonoa and lived there. They 539
named the new place of residence Mua and they took their boats there. 173
The name of one boat was "Akiheuho" and the name of the other was 643
"Tongafuesia." Thus the living of the Tui Tonga at Mua began with the [644]
time of Talaatama and Talaihaapepe, the sons of Tuitatui. [361]

THE ORIGIN OF THE NAME TUITATUI[39]

There was a Tui Tonga named Tuitatui, who was so named because the kava maker of early days did not sit in the same fashion as nowadays, but sat in the center of the ring of chiefs. The chiefs were encircled by the people, which made the assassination of the Tui Tonga quite easy. But this Tui Tonga, when at a kava party and surrounded by the people, had a very long stick with which he used to beat the knees of anyone who came
too close to him. This made them move away and keep at a distance from [276]
him, and they called him Tuitatui (*tui*, king; *ta*, to strike; *tui*, the knee) [574]
and since that time the kava circle has been arranged as he made it.

TUITATUI AND THE MAIDEN[40]

Ko Tuitatui, koe Tui Tonga, nae eiki, pea ngeia, pea manavahe ai ae kakai oe otu fonua ni.

Ko Tuitatui, eni nae alu ene aalo ki Halakakala, pea akemai one iloi ae fefine oku hekeheka i he tualiku o Eueiki, kae fakataupe a hono vae ki tahi; o iloi ai e Tuitatui, moe ongo tangata. Koe iloi tokua e he tangata nae nofoa mua, pea ne pehe ange: "Ongo tamani, mo mate eku tupua." Pea na pehe mai: "Koeha?" Pea pehe e he tangata: "Ko eku tupua, koe kalia, oku langolango i he tuahilu o Haakame." Pea na matei ae tupua, pea ikai ke na ilo, pea toki tala e he tangata, one pehe: "Ko eku tupua eni; mo sio ange ae vaei fefine, koeni oku fakataupe ki taki, ka oku hekeheka, i he vaafau, kae mama ae konga tahi, nae feounga moia." Pea nau sio kotoa ki ai, ka nae alo mui a Tuitatui, pea lea mai: "Ongo tama, tau ange mo kimoua, ke mo aalo vave, ke tau ilo ape, koe mama, pe koe tevolo."

Tuitatui, the Tui Tonga, was chief, and terrible, and feared by all the people of the groups of islands.

Tuitatui went in a canoe to Halakakala, and approaching the shore he saw a woman sitting on the weather shore of Eueiki, and dangling her legs into the sea; and Tuitatui and his two men saw her. She was seen first, it is said, by the man that sat in front, and he said: "You two lads, guess my riddle." And they said, "What is it?" And the man answered: "My riddle is this, the double-boat is raised on the weather shore of Haakame." And they tried to guess the riddle, but failed. Then the man told them: "This is my riddle; you see there the legs of a woman, that are hanging into the sea, but she is sitting, on the branch of the fau (hibiscus) tree, while there is a light on the sea, opposite her." And they all looked. But Tuitatui was paddling in the stern, and he spoke: "You two lads, it is with you, to paddle quickly, for us to discover if it is human, or a spirit."

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[39] From the original Tongan of a manuscript in the possession of John Panuve Maatu. Translated by Alphonse J. Gaffney.

[40] From the original Tongan of a manuscript written by the late Elia Malupo, an attendant [127] (*matapule*), made available through the courtesy of Her Majesty Charlotte Tupou the Queen of Tonga and His Highness William Tungi the Prince Consort. All of Malupo's tales were copied from an early account written by Romano Tongavalevale and corrected by the Tui Tonga Laufilitonga. Translated by Miss Beatrice Shirley Baker

539 The Tui Tonga and his people came to the beach and feasted with the Felemea people. The marriage of Sisimatailaa and Fatafehi was celebrated and then the couple sailed away to Fiji in a *tongiaki*, after receiving large quantities of food, mats, and other Tongan valuables as gifts. The fine mats known as *ngafingafi* were first made by Fataimoeloa, the mother of Sisimatailaa, and were worn with other mats about the waists of the present-bearers at the wedding.

During the festivities the Tui Tonga presided at the kava ring. He had his own people make the kava and he appointed the people of Felemea as ceremonial attendants (*matapule*). He placed them in the *alofi* (the kava ring), so that none had to make kava. The Tui Tonga did this because of the supernatural origin of the Felemea people from the sun's
[643] basket. Even today, when the Felemea people visit Queen Charlotte
[276] Tupou, the reigning Tui Kanokupolu, they sit in the kava ring, just as
[574] they did in the olden days when there was a Tui Tonga.

Fatafehi bore Sisimatailaa a son, who was named Fakatouio and who went to Felemea to live. His descendant, of the same name, lives in Felemea to-day.

TOKELAUMOETONGA, THE SON OF THE SUN AT KELEFESIA[87]

Fatafehi Lapaha was married to the Tui Tonga. After all of the feasting was over, the Tui Tonga said on that day: "We will go catching flying foxes." The bride and the chief women remained at home.

Hardly had the Tui Tonga and his party departed, when suddenly a small boat arrived bearing a man named Tokelaumoetonga. He was the son of two Samoan women [*sic*]. They had sailed from Samoa, but their boat had sunk. By dint of hard swimming they had managed to reach the islands of Kelefesia and Tonumea (in the Haapai group). The two women lived on these islands for some time. After a time they thought themselves to be pregnant and they wondered what had caused their interesting condition, for they were the only human beings on the islands. They agreed to turn their buttocks to the wind as a test, and after a time one of them really became pregnant and gave birth to a male child, who was named Tokelaumoetonga. He it was who went to the nuptials of the Tui Tonga and who wore his turban during the trip.

Upon his arrival at the residence of the Tui Tonga he found everyone asleep, except the Tui Tonga's bride who was awake. He seduced her. After he had done so, he gave her, as a gift, his turban which consisted of a fine Samoan mat. The girl, in return, gave him a girdle of red sennit.

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[87] Told by Mary Pifita, of Pangai, Lifuka island, Haapai.

538 [276] [574] [656] 538 175 Kava parties were sometimes entertained by rival poets. Such competition evidently reached a high degree of development. It is said that competitions in reciting (*po-sipi*), night of reciting, were stopped by the Government in these latter days because of the feeling engendered. Sometimes poets recited prepared compositions, but at other times they improvised. The chief Tukuaho, a distinguished patron of the arts who died in the latter part of the nineteenth century, is reported to have organized a contest in poetry between a man from Vavau, a man from Nomuka, a man named Siliva, and a woman from Hihifo. Each recited what had been prepared, and then went on to improvise. The bards of Nomuka and Vavau came to a stop without finishing properly; Siliva and the woman both finished well, but Siliva was adjudged to have finished best and to have won.

538 A poet may recite (*laulau*) his own, or another's compositions or teach them to bands of singers or dancers. Skillful bards were valued companions of chiefs. Poets and storytellers sometimes spent the night with chiefs, to amuse them should they be wakeful. A composition to amuse a chief at night was called *tatoka* (literally, sleeping with). The "Weather coast of Selenga" (p. 106) is so called.

[121] The poems here presented have not been specially selected. They are probably representative, certainly when taken with those published by Gifford (21, 22). The prominence of the natural beauties of their homeland among the subjects chosen by the bards has been noted by other writers, and is at once apparent. Much of the poetry is topical. Mariner says, (28, vol. 2, p. 217) "One of these songs describes the principal events during Captain Cook's visit . . . . Another describes the visit of Admiral d'Entrecasteaux. Another the revolution of Tonga, and the famous battle that was there fought." So today notable events are chronicled by the bards. Gifford (23) mentions a poem in his possession describing the entrance of German war-vessels into Vavau Harbor at the time of the ratification of the treaty between Germany and Tonga. Songs composed to accompany dances on any important occasion contain numerous references to events and persons connected with the celebrations. During a visit to Niua Toputapu at a time when vigorous and successful measures were being taken to cope with the great enemy of the coconut, the rhinoceros beetle, which had lately made its way into that island, I found two songs in vogue describing the efforts made to deal with the pest, and celebrating the care and vigilance of the gentleman in charge, Mr. Michael Miller, Miki Mila in the poems. The hunting for beetles, grubs, and larvae, and the boiling of the grubs and larvae in a kerosene tin (*kapa kalasini*) syllables which, however prosaic their meaning, are not to be despised for their rhythm,
[124] were all celebrated by the muse. A member of the party with which I visited the island was a very high chief, who stayed in the house next to

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

POEM OF MUMUI

(Composed by Tuakilaumea)

643 644 276 [687] Mumui, the Tui Kanokupolu who died in 1797, sent to Uhila, a man of western Tongatabu, bidding him come to Nukualofa, to weave a mat of coconut leaf for him. Before he reached the King he met Tuakilaumea, son of Motuapuaka, the well known *matapule* of the Tui Kanokupolu, constructing a reed fence. Tuakilaumea begged of Uhila the piece of kava he was carrying to Mumui. The King was so incensed at Tuakilaumea's receiving the kava, that he sent men to sack his compound. This punishment was resented by Tuakilaumea, who maintained that, as the King's *matapule*, he had a right to the King's kava. A *matapule* is treated with the deference due to his chief. If the King's *matapule* is present at a kava ceremony when the King is absent the ceremony will be carried out as though the King were present, the *matapule* receiving the King's share.

431 571 565 In distribution of food and gifts, the chiefs' names are not called as recipients of portions, but their *matapule* are named. If a chief and his *matapule* are alone and desire to drink kava the chief prepares and serves the kava. A chief would climb a tree to get a coconut for his *matapule*. These, of course, are strictly private concerns, when the chief and *matapule* are alone, and are called *faka-fale-puipui*, within the screened house. The expression is applied to strictly confidential consultations between a chief and his *matapule*.

644 276 687 539 [538] [643] Tuakilaumea, maintaining that as Mumui's *matapule* he was justified in obtaining the kava from Uhila, voiced his sense of the outrage done him in the following sarcastic poem, which he taught to a company of performers from Faletapu, between Fuaamotu and Nakolo, in eastern Tongatabu. The poem was sung or recited by them before Mulikihaamea, living in eastern Tongatabu, doubtless the chief with whom Vason lived, and who was Tui Kanokupolu for a few days or weeks in 1799, after the murder of Tukuaho. Mulikihaamea came to Nukualofa and told Mumui about the poem, and the King then had it performed before himself. Mumui was so delighted with it that he had it repeated four times, and loaded Tuakilaumea with gifts.

[643] If Tuakilaumea were the son of a living Motuapuaka, and had not yet been installed himself as an officiating *matapule*, and was correct in his contention regarding the kava, an interesting light is shed on the blood rights of *matapule* families. Members of the London Missionary Society who came to Tonga by the *Duff* and met Mumui, represent him as a kindly old gentleman. Whether he was strictly within his right or not, Tuakilaumea was probably presuming on Mumui's good nature.

A comical thing is the way of Tongatabu
With all your conjecture about me.
Harken ye to my rede.
There was Vaeatangitau,[1]
And Fakatavuki in Haatafu;
And Loau was king of Haamea;
Fotofili made ready for war abroad;
But Tongatabu here.was left to me,
That they should have me for *matapule*.
Straightway have they grasped the flat-faced club,[2]
The owl-headed club, and the eight-barbed spear,
To guard, forsooth, their King,
That he be treated with honor--
And do the animals know?[3]
Are regiments then so few?[4]
Haamea or Utulau,
Or Matakehe were fitting for me,
Or Pelehake still held in honor.
Mumui still is our King,[5]
For an embassy was sent
To bring him hither as our king,
Because of Mapatongiamanu,[6]
A strong man succeeded the strong.[7]
For it is false fair words of Tongatabu;[8]
They gathered the club *tui-papanu*,[9]
And the club *mounga-laulau*,
To bring them to slay me,
Who am guiltless in respect of the king.
Well then, I shall go,
I shall be foolish of heart and sail away.
Let Muli and Maumau be brought[10]
To snare pigeons on Halaevalu,
And paddle about the reef.
And shalt thou not lament?
Thou art angered, thou art angered,
But we are women,[11]
For 'tis a land of women's talk.
Ah indeed, I am grieved in secret;[12]
Take thought what we shall do,
We are weary of fear,
Rejoicing in the king we have got;[13]
I am but punished.
South is the wind, and goes right round;[14]
And my heart knows no rest.
Ah me, 'twere a marvel
If the land of folly should show wisdom,
Or prosper in the dwelling[15]
Of this Molofaha and Maliepo.
The bonito has almost come to the surface,[16]
And on a day there will be contest of anglers.
The stranger flees at once to a distance,[17]
I shall rush in and fall, 539
Endure many wounds; 644
For 'tis a land uncontrolled by wisdom.
Soon, surrounded by a circle of foemen,[18] 276
Shall they be driven to Hihifo, 687
To be gathered at Haavakatolo,
[Like fish] in the end of their net,
And then flung out in the shallow;
[The foes'] friends shall come down upon them.[19]
I am a pigeon filled with trouble,[20]
Who but eat for my food *tangato*,
Eat and am griped with pain.
I turn aside and stand apart,
For we are of no use.
Thou art angered, thou art angered,
But we are women,
For 'tis a land of women's talk.
Ah indeed, I am grieved in secret;
Take thought what we shall do,
We are weary of fear,
Rejoicing in the king we have got;
I am but punished.
I perched to eat *unuoi*,[21]
The report was brought while it was yet morning,
"Pipitongi forsooth hath sinned."[22]
Is there a wrong that shall come to light?
A chief lady whom we have touched?
A wedded wife with whom was wrong?
Nay, it hath arisen in a bad king;
Moli hath done wrong, lay it upon Loli;[23]
And ever the weak eat food[24]
By the labor of the strong,
And comes, and moves along the chiefs in their circle,
And desires to order the distribution in this midst.
Ah me, Little fruit of hala,[25]
He came hither and persuaded
That I go and dwell with him;
Verily, his heart is evil.
Perhaps, forsooth, I have crept [into his house]
Like the man Lolo,[26]
Or I have sinned in Lotunofo,[27]
Or appeared to a royal lady.
Stay, stay, stay here,[28]
And let your hearts be regardful;
We shall consort with Lolopaongo.
He went to Hahake in his wrath
To appease his heart.
Thou are angered, thou art angered,
But we are women,

539 For 'tis a land of women's talk.
Ah indeed, I am grieved in secret;
644 Take thought what we shall do,
We are weary of fear,
276 Rejoicing in the king we have got;
687 I am but punished.
Pluck down Alotolu,"
And Toloa and Humu.
Awake wind from Tufuhu,"
Breathe gently all winds,
Sing wind of the north,
The south wind, and wind below Kalau,"
And gleam the town that thunders for war;"
The sea moans on Teuhie and Kaloafu."
The Kailakulaku has put out"
That they may shatter regiments,
That without rival he be king,
And that we live under his justice."
Ia ahi a, but he is good,"
A chief of exceeding kindness;
His dear beauty and brightness"
In the cave, the hollow in Tukitou.
False reliance is voyaging [with him],
And the correctness of a maimed hand."
Let none speak to me,
Forbidden the murmur, taken to Toku."
My love to the King,
Let be, farewell Tongatabu.
A-he, voyaging [together] will be broken down."

RHYMES FOR GAMES

HIKO

524 A favorite game of the Tongan girls (*hiko*), consists in juggling oranges.
The girls become remarkably expert, and it is no uncommon thing to see
five or six oranges kept in the air. The players sit in a little ring, and
[538] as one breaks down she passes the oranges on to her neighbor. The games
are scored by means of these rhymes, and doubtless others, which are almost
as unintelligible to the Tongan as the *eeny, deeny, diny, do* of English chil-
[539] dren is to them. Interesting words, however, are preserved, for example,
Savaiki in the eighth line of the first rhyme.

524 The game *hiko* was under the special patronage of the god Fehuluni, of
whose origin Gifford gives an account (22, pp. 153-155). It was tapu to
776 play *hiko* at night. If the tapu were disregarded Fehuluni would be angry,
[784] and come and take the offender's eyes, and play *hiko* with them. Fehuluni
is said to have visited mortal men and women, in the guise of a beautiful
776 woman or of a handsome man. Men who embraced Fehuluni in female
787 shape became sick, and some died; while women who became pregnant to
the male Fehuluni were unable to bring forth. Sometimes, but not always,
[755] remedies were of avail, inducing a bleeding which was followed by restored
health. Fehuluni is said also to have appeared with the face veiled by the
top of the head, which seems inconsistent with the beauty attributed to him,
539 though it is admitted that his appearance was not always beautiful. Each
524 of these rhymes marks an *ulu* (game). To go right through the piece
marks one *ulu*. The players agree beforehand how many *ulu* there are to
be in the match. If, as between two players, one breaks down at some point
within the *ulu*, and then her opponent also breaks down; the first player is
allowed to continue at the point at which she erred, and if she completes
the *ulu* her opponent must start at the beginning, and is beaten unless she
goes right through at this second attempt.

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

539 19. Kanakana is a pool in Teekiu, western Tongatabu, where dwelt the god
[823] Tutula, or Haelefeke, who appeared in the octopus (*feke*). Besides the advice to
Falepapalangi to go and find a pool and the trees as subjects of his verse, there seems
[776] to be the idea also of finding a god to be the patron of his muse.

20. For *ai* (almond tree), *vai* (water, pool) may be read as a variant, and instead
[825] of *ua* (two), *na* (there). Without knowing just what is referred to there is no way of choosing definitely between the various possible readings. The man may be represented as speaking to someone in Hihifo "who knows," and asking "Where is that almond tree, or pool that you people talk about?" or as asking "Where is the double almond tree, or double pool?" Two pools, or two trees, close together, would make a sufficiently conspicuous land-mark to be noted, and *ua* is probably the correct reading.

Pages 67-69. A poem of Falepapalangi

1. A chief sometimes gives his kava to someone of lower rank than himself,
539 usually as a reward for services rendered. This bestows on the man to whom the
276 kava is given the right to clap and have the cup brought to him when the chief's name
is called. This privilege is transmitted from generation to generation. The hypothetical
574 charge which Falepapalangi is considering is that of having brought to him in the kava
[565] ring a cup which has not been so given to him, a much more serious usurpation than
merely draining off a cup of someone's else drink.

[465] 2. Falepapalangi seems to claim having borne off the prize, probably against
Mamaeaepoto on some specific occasion when the King was present. There is a possi-
[428] bility, however, that he refers to his poetical skill as a heaven-sent gift of the gods;
Tangaloa is the lord of the heavens. It is in keeping with the spirit of Tongan poetry
539 to consider all the possible meanings and allusions as more or less involved.

[776] 3. Kafoa and Talau are hills in Vavau. That the hills had fallen means that
Vavau, in the person of Mamaeaepoto, had been defeated in poetical contest, and, as a Tongatabu man, Falepapalangi turns the tables on Mamaeaepoto's assertion that the Tongatabu poet has neglected the beauties of his own land to abuse the poet of Vavau. Falepapalangi contends that he, the Tongatabu poet, has not been unmindful of the claims of Vavau to commemoration; that his rival has mentioned to him places in Tongatabu that might be visited for poetical inspiration, and in his retort infers that he knows and is quite willing to celebrate Mamaeaepoto's land.

4. Meaning "We were in complete accord about the charms of Vavau."

5. The king, the Tui Kanokupolu, and those connected with him, are called
[644] *hoa moheofo*. Moheofo is the daughter of the Tui Kanokupolu, who was taken as the
principal wife of the Tui Tonga. *Mohe* in *moheofo* is not the same root as *mohe*,
[192] sleep (compare with *moheofo*, the Samoan *masiofo*).

6. Pangai is the court of the Tui Kanokupulu, or the place where this king holds
[644] his court and great gatherings.

7. The word *liku-loto* is used of an inland place that is precipitous and has the
[192] appearance of the cliffs of the weather coast. It is proverbial for that which is not
what it seems.

[192] 8. The term *faka-vavau* (Vavau fashion) is proverbial for talk that is boastful.

9. "Hiding and squeaking" is used of that which hides, but reveals its presence by noise. Here, apparently, it means lying low and uttering plaints hard to understand.

10. This metaphor is from the game of *lafo*. The raised edge of the mat on which
[524] the pieces are thrown is called *kaunahu;* players were able to make good use of this,
as a billiard player makes use of the cushion. *Futa kaunahu* (pride in the raised edge) is pride over a successful shot due to the mat rather than to the player's ability. Hence it indicates boasting of what is due to extraneous circumstances rather than to skill. Evidently Falepapalangi refers to an occasion on which Mamaeaepoto has defeated him. Possibly the themes of the poets on that occasion were their native lands, and Falepapalangi means that Mamaeaepoto's victory was due to the scenic superiority of Vavau to Tongatabu rather than to the poet's skill.

11. Perhaps a living dog, or perhaps merely a way of saying that the matter be
[825] left to one who is good at following up clues. A dog was prominently associated with
[776] the worship of the god Pulotukatoa in eastern Tongatabu.

12. The theft is Mamaeaepoto's claim to seamanship.

13. That is, the place where people sit and talk on deck, as distinguished from the working part of the ship. Falepapalangi says that Mamaeaepoto wants to leave the

Corresponding lines in the other version refer to the assassination rather differently, 539
laying the emphasis on the self-sacrifice of Kepa.

12. I have made a slight textual alteration in this line, changing *oua* to *ona*. 669
The reference is to the departure of Finau to Haapai and Vavau after his victory of Toafa. His escape is pictured in a metaphor of fishing. In the dragnets, or fish fences formed of hanging coconut leaflets strung on a rope, a fish may make its escape by swimming down to the bottom, the foot of the net.

13. One or all of the Hihifo chiefs after the defeat of Taofa.

14. "We will fight Finau till we have defeated him or he has made his escape over the horizon."

15. The meaning of this passage is that the chief who went to Fiji storming towns had to use weapons suitable to the stern business of war, for which the baubles of dances and games were useless.

Pages 96-97. Ulukalala at Feletoa

1. This expression, still found, denotes fierceness where gentleness might have 539
been expected. The mother turtle lays her eggs above the highwater mark, and it is
said that she lies in wait for the young by the water's edge and kills any of her brood 634
that she catches. 669

2. Tufutele and Mangia: small streams in Vavau.

3. Teisina: a hill in Vavau. 727

4. The translation of *talahia* as accused is made uncertainly. There is nothing 551
to show that a special voyage is indicated. "Turning aside in Maninita," seems to express the yearning of the spirits for their native land by a trip to various points of
attraction and interest. Maninita is one of the islands of Vavau. 103

5. Aloitalau and Kafoa, hills in Vavau. 103

6. Feletoa is the fortress which was the center of the fighting; Fatungakoa, the 712
gateway of the fortress.

7. Maluhola: a headland (*matanga*) of Vavau. 103

8. "Tame pigeon" that is a decoy pigeon returned to the woods (*mouna vaoa*) has the import "one who has relapsed from his high estate," indicating here the pitiful end of one who was a chief and warrior (17 no. 594).

9. Olotele: residence of the Tui Tonga. The name seems to be Samoan, equiva- 644
lent to the Tongan Kololahi, great town, or fortress. Sina is apparently a place name, 103
but instead of Sina e, might be written Sina'e, the well known branch of the Tui Tonga house, which is formed possibly of children of the female side of that house. Different punctuation would take this and the following line together, and *tau* instead of being translated "fitting," might be translated "warring," thus:

Warring with the Tui Tonga Fefine,
Our land in its folly.

If this version be correct, then Toeumu, the chiefess who fortified Feletoa, was connected with the Tui Tonga, or else the Tui Tonga house was known to be favorable to her cause; perhaps this is a reference to that disposition of Finau, which Mariner mentions, to disown his obligations to the Tui Tonga.

10. This is evidently an expression for reliance on that which is capricious and uncertain. Finau had caused the men to be seized at a gathering of which peace was the ostensible motive. The following line repeats the same idea. Makave is the village at which the fatal gathering was held. (For *tuanaki-auka*, misplaced confidence, see 17 no. 552.)

11. The poet, or imaginary speaker, is connected with Finau on his mother's side.

Pages 98-100. Poem of Mumui

1. It is not implied that the noted chiefs mentioned were contemporary with each 539
other or with Tuakilaumea. Loau, for example, is by some tradition assigned to the 644
period of the Tui Tonga Tuitatui, thirteenth century. Fotofili, if he be the Tui Haatakalaua of that name, belongs to about the middle of the seventeenth century. Probably 276
reference is to Fotofili who founded a chieftainship in Niua Foou six generations ago.
Vaeatangitau (Vaea longing for war) may be one of two Tui Haatakalaua of that 687
name, one of whom lived about the beginning of the sixteenth century, and the other about the beginning of the eighteenth century. The meaning here is, that just as

539 these famous men have had their part in life to play, so have I mine, that of being a *matapule* to the King in Tongatabu.

644 276 2. Tuakilaumea complains that instead of being treated with the respect that his office and service demand he has been attacked, and that, forsooth, to vindicate the honor of the King.

3. Animals (*manu*) is a contemptuous term for the people.

687 [192] [701] 4. The attack was carried out by the people of Nukualofa. Tuakilaumea says that he would have less to complain of had he been attacked by one or other of the famous regiments he names, whose duty it is to guard the King. Haamea is the locality in central Tongatabu connected with the great Loau; Utulau, a village in central Tongatabu, which gave its name to a regiment very famous about the beginning of the nineteenth century; the name Matakehe seems not to be known today, but it is suggested that this regiment was associated with Motuapuaka, one of the two principal *matapule* of the Tui Kanokupolu; a great chief of the Tui Tonga house, was named the Tui Pelehake; he, and presumably the regiment Pelehake, guarded the Tui Tonga.

[643] 5. This is an assertion that Mumui was not in the direct line of descent of the Tui Kanokupolu; but was sent for, and arrangements made, that he should be king. Tuakilaumea is making what he can of the fact that Mumui was not the son of his predecessor; but that, as is clearly shown by the genealogy, involves no irregularity. Mumui, who was the eleventh Tui Kanokupolu, was the son of Maafuotuitonga, the sixth Tui Kanokupolu, who was immediately succeeded by two sons who had not the same mother as Mumui. The practice was to keep the office within the one house, but to select a man of mature vigor. The succession of the Tui Tonga was usually but not invariably from father to son.

[551] 6. Mapatongiamanu was a nickname (*hingoa fakatenetene*) of some great chief; presumably the Tui Kanokupolu whom Mumui succeeded.

7. Tuakilaumea says sarcastically *Nae hoko pe fau moe fau* (fau fiber succeeded fau fiber) that is the strong succeeded the strong. (Compare 17, no. 40.)

8. This is not said of Mumui alone, but of Mumui and those who appointed and approved him, and of all those who joined in the attack on Tuakilaumea.

9. I have heard no descriptions of these two kinds of clubs.

[701] 10. Muli and Maumau are names of two noted warriors belonging to the chief Nuku. The poet says "Let them come and do the things that I do on the pigeon mound Halaevalu, and at the fishing-reef."

11. This is either the poet's caustic comment on the people of his time, or his representation of the attitude to them of the King, who thinks that he may indulge his anger as he pleases and the people will tamely submit.

12. Another reading is the commoner's secret grief. The commoner is the poet himself. This is a not uncommon form of respectful speech to a great chief.

[643] 13. "The king we have got" repeats the assertion of earlier lines that Mumui did not become king by succession but was brought in, says Tuakilaumea "a fine bargain we have made of it, a surfeit of fear is our reward."

14. "The wind has gone from the south right round to south again," bad weather is blowing up.

[551] 15. "The dwelling of Molofaha and Máliepo," means the condition of the land generally. Molofaha and Maliepo are the ancient names of the two *matapule*, Motuapuaka and Lauaki.

16. Under the image of fishing Tuakilaumea foretells war, saying that circumstances are almost ripe for the outbreak of contest.

[643] 17. Stranger (*kehe*) is the new friend on whom Mumui relies when he illtreats old and trusted supporters. There may be a special reference to Nukualofa. The Tui Konakupolu belongs especially to Hihifo, but at some time or other Nukualofa became the principal residence of this king.

18. "Surrounded by a circle of foemen," refers to one of the stratagems of Tongan warfare, wherein a party of soldiers surrounded or partially surrounded a tract of country, and closed in on and entrapped the inhabitants. The encircling foe is represented as driving the people into Haavakatolo, one of the villages of Hihifo.

19. It is possible to interpret this as meaning that when the disasters of war come upon Mumui then his real friends will come to his assistance.

[825] 20. The plant *tangato* is one which the pigeon eats only when other foods are scarce.

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

22. The plant *unuoi* is a favorite food of pigeons. Tuakilaumea presents himself as a pigeon eating *unuoi* unapprehensive of pending trouble when the news of his disgrace reached him; probably also an allusion is made to himself drinking the kava which was the cause of all the trouble. 539 644

23. The plant *pipitongi*, here used as a nickname of Tuakilaumea himself. 276

24. Moli hath done wrong, leave it to Loli, is a proverbial expression for laying the blame of one man's wrongs upon another. 687

25. This is a proverbial expression complaining that the unworthy reap the benefit of the labors and endurance of the strong and brave (17, no 92). [825]

26. Afaipaongo (little fruit of hala) is a sarcastic name for the King. The *paongo* is a valued species of *Pandanus*, and the name is constructed on the model of the nicknames of great chiefs, which frequently are of some valued and pleasant plant. The *afa* of the hala, however is the last fruit, which is smaller than the earlier fruit; and the name, therefore, is a taunt, "poor little fruit coming after the great fruit which have preceded you." [551] 551 [824]

27. Lolo was one of the handsome men whose profession was love. Tuakilaumea used the word *motua*, a common but not very respectful term for man.

28. Lotunofo; the compound of the Tui Tonga in Mua.

29. This is perhaps the request of Mumui to Tuakilaumea to live with him; but afterwards Mumui is relying on the chief Vahai of Lolopaongo a village of Foui, in western Tongatabu. But Vahai has deserted the interests of Hihifo and gone off to Hahake, where he originally belonged.

30. This is a sarcastic reference to Mumui. The direction is to "pluck the stars from heaven for this king of ours, and let all the forces of Nature be according to his pleasure." Alotolu is the belt in Orion; Toloa, the Southern Cross; Humu, dark sky near the Southern Cross (16, pp. 4-6). [821]

31. Tufuhu is a place name in Tonga, Haapai, and Vavau. Winds are named therefrom, as *funga Tufuhu* (from the surface of Tufuhu). [821]

32. Kalau is an islet off the southern end of Eua. "Below Kalau" is used of the wind blowing from a point seaward from Kalau. [821]

33. The reference is to some town where lightning was held to be an omen of war. "The town" is said to be Mumui's own town. [821]

34. Teuhie and Kaloafu are two rocks off the coast of Hihifo. The murmur of the sea is said to be heard on these rocks in calm weather, hence the expression is used here of calm seas. In these lines, in addition to the sarcastic request that Nature be as Mumui would choose, is the poet's own brooding fondness for the natural features of his native land, which is so constant a feature of Tongan poetry. [823]

35. The Kailakulaku is the boat of Ata, one of the great chiefs of the Tui Kanokupolu. The context implies "Let the canoe of this chief put out to shatter all opposition, that our King reign without a rival." [552]

36. The line *Ke tau nonofo kuo tatau*, seems to have two ideas: first, that the king be equal to his job, and hence know how to treat his *matapule;* and, second that we be all alike under his rule, that is that his rule be marked by even-handed justice.

37. The phrase *Ia ahi a* is not very clear. The word for sandalwood *ahi*, may be a name for the King, in which case the line would follow the preceding one and mean "That we live in justice with Ahi." I have taken *Ia ahi a* as an expletive. The poet is again sarcastic at expense of Mumui.

38. There is in Vavau a cave, or depression, with sweet water in it called Tukitou. Bathing in this pool is said to make one beautiful. [823]

39. "Correctness of a maimed hand" carries with it the implication that with all its correctness of movement in the dance the maimed hand can not achieve fullness of beauty and grace.

40. The exact interpretation is uncertain but it is an expression forbidding speech. Toku is the name of an island north of Vavau, and of several other localities. [103]

42. Tuakilaumea says that he will no longer consort with Mumui.

Pages 100-102. Rhymes for the game of hiko

1. I know of no other occurrence of the form Savaiki in Tongan. 539
2. Many names in this rhyme are of chiefs. 524

533 539 103 poem, is in the same region. It is a beach famous as a place for riding the breakers, where the chiefs of eastern Tongatabu enjoyed this sport.

15. Vai Aku, may be translated "My pool," and it is quite possible that the bard (Mulikihaamea himself?) refers to a pool named after himself.

16. This possibly is the name of some locality.

17. Huangalau is perhaps the name of a bonito fishing reef. If this be correct the "good report" would be, not of beauty, but of fruitfulness as a fishing place.

18. A conjectural translation is made of "*fili talai*." A variant *filitai*, is unintelligible to me.

19. Fakaulunafa is in eastern Tongatabu; and doubtless Valekatoua is there also.

Pages 116-117. A song of fishers

533 539 1. This piece was probably performed by a line of women, either standing or sitting, with perhaps a line of men behind them. Actions of the hands would represent the various phases and actions of the chase.

1a. The time indicated is December to January (Liha Mua).

[551] 2. Tefisi, an important and widely distributed Polynesian name. There are numerous occurrences of the name throughout every part of Tonga, with which are associated chiefs of all the great houses, Tui Tonga, Tui Haatakalaua, and Tui Kanokupolu (21).

[103] 3. Fasia, a beach on the islet of Nukunukumotu.

[103] 4. Tofoa; a reef near Fasia. Halakakala; a fishing ground near the island of Eueiki.

[103] [776] 5. Faiana is a cave at the bottom of a steep cliff in Eua. The other names are not identified, but are doubtless names of fishing grounds, tracts of the sea, points of land, or the like. Taane (spelling uncertain, Taane, Tane) may possibly be a hint that the great god Tane, so important in some parts of Polynesia, but of whom nothing is to be heard in Tonga, was not always unknown in this group. (See 34.)

6. The word *lau matangi* means wind-reckoner, that is, sea captain.

[276] 7. When a great chief comes ashore from a voyage the head sailor (*toutai*) distributes the kava at the first ceremonial kava-drinking.

[127] 8. This translation is purely conjectural. It is not unlikely that the text is corrupt.

9. In taking *mana* to mean thunder there is of course the implication that the thunder is *mana*, omen, sign, for the fishing expedition.

533 539 103 10. Holaavaki, a beach in Eueiki.

11. Matafota, the sea near Halakakala.

12. Vainoa is probably a name of a stretch of sea, but possibly it is just descriptive of the place where the fishers row about, an open waste of sea.

13. Hopohoponga, the name of a stretch of sea.

14. In Nimafuaatu the division of words is uncertain, but taken together they are probably the name of a stretch of sea. Taken as an expression, *nima-fua-uta* describes accurately the method of carrying the bonito, *atu*. When the *atu* is taken to a chief it is *fua*, carried on the shoulder, not *takitaki*, carried in the hand. "Into the shallow," indicates that the pursuit is driving the fish inshore.

15. Peauapuaka is unidentified, but is conjectured to be a place in the sea. The suggestion is made that it may be the name of a place where the fishermen frequently cease from their sport, and get together to eat. The remains of the food, among which would be pig, are thrown into the sea; hence Wave-of-pig.

16. Late is of frequent occurrence as a place name. Houma Late is a headland on the eastern coast.

533 539 17. Tama and Upeupe are names of fishermen.

Pages 117. A song of fishers

[551] 1. In the Tongan text this piece is headed Sinaitakala i Langileka, Tui Tonga Fefine. Several of the known Tui Tonga Fefine are named Sinaitakala, being distinguished, as here, by some addition to the name. The descriptive "i Langileka" was
533 added probably after the death of this Sinaitakala, and indicates the royal vault in
539 which she is buried. It is still the custom to speak of deceased kings according to
their place of burial. Sinaitakala i Langileka was the daughter of Telea, the twenty-
643 ninth Tui Tonga, who lived about the middle of the seventeenth century. She and

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539 **354. Faka-Niuniua-foou:** Niua Foou fashion.
184 Tongans generally do not ask a stranger his name directly but ask a
576 third person who knows him, whereas the people of Niua Foou make no
574 scruple of a point blank inquiry. Hence to ask anybody his name directly
276 is to act in the Niua Foou way. There is a special application to kava
drinking. The *matabule* who is directing the brewing and distribution of the drink may not know the names of all present. A very common proceeding in such as case is to quietly inquire of one sitting near who so-and-so is; but he may say "We'll do Niua Foou way," and then without further invitation the strangers will each tell their names, or someone who knows them will name them out.

OTHER LOCALITIES

539 **355. Faji pe jila tuku ki Manono:** Boom broken—leave it to
183 Manono, or boom broken, impute it to Manono.

Either of these expressions is a literal translation of the words. The origin of the phrase is obscure, but it is applied in two ways in accordance with the two translations given: 1. When a thing is broken, leave it to such a one, or to certain people who are skilled craftsmen and will mend it; 2. When a thing is broken, impute the blame for the mishap to so-and-so.

539 **356. Hange ha tama Polataane:** Like a British man.
829 This indicates one of martial aspect. Presumably the Tongans in the
177 days of their first contact with European seamen grew accustomed to the
sight of fully armed landing parties.

539 **357. Koe aho ni ape e tuku ki Uvea:** Today apparently is to be
643 left to Uvea.
466 When the Tui Tonga had a big piece of work on hand, as for example
264 building or repairing his boat, the *Akiheuho*, the duty of feeding the car-
823 penters was apportioned among the various districts in rotation, even as
far as Uvea. The Uveans lived a long way off, and on their day the workmen frequently went hungry. So on any day when it was not clear whether any food would be forthcoming for them or not the carpenters were wont to say, "H'm, looks as though today were being left to Uvea." Used generally of uncertainty whether a desired event will happen or not.

539 **358. Ko Vaihi e:** That's Hawaii.
823 Indicates that which is far off and impossible. Much as English
people speak of asking for the moon. "Did you get such a thing?" "That's
Hawaii," that is, I have as much chance of getting that as I have of
[177] getting Hawaii. We are unable to say with certainty, but think it probable
that this name Vaihi is no old recollection preserved in Tongan tradition,
[609] but a recent innovation since the visits of European vessels. A variation
of this is *Ko Vaihi matakelou*, that is, yellow-eyed, or yellow, Hawaii; but we do not know the reason of the epithet.

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539 **501. Hange ha mate mutukia:** Like a cut off death.

761 *Mutukia* means trimmed, as for example the edges of the native cloth which are trimmed during manufacture. Thence *mate mutukia* means
287 sudden, unexpected, death. The expression is used of the unexpected occurrence of a painful or disastrous event.

539 **502. Matamatalelei fakafaitoka:** Beautiful like a cemetery.

764 People may adorn and care for a cemetery but however well it looks it is still not a place that one feels much at home in. So used of that which is beautiful but fails to evoke the feeling of appreciative comfort that makes one desire to linger in its vicinity.

539 **503. Noo ua poaki:** Begging off being strangled.

768 Refers to the strangling of victims on the death of a chief or other
183 circumstances of a like nature where a human victim was called for. This taking of life seemed a quite proper thing and ordinarilly evoked no popular dissent. This expression signifies literally that the individual to whom was assigned the leading part in the tragedy sought to evade his duty by an appeal to the people. So the phrase comes to mean attempting to beg off a duty which should be carried out.

539 **504. Tala fai ki tano:** Speech made to burying-ground.

764 Exhortation, commands, or other expressions directed towards the
521 cemetery where there is none able to take heed and profit by what is said. So of totally unprofitable discourse.

539 **505. To hono aveave:** Plant his *aveave*.

764 A branch of the *aveave* (*Codiaeum variegatum* Pratt), was stuck into
763 the ground in a cemetery to mark the spot where a grave was to be dug. When it was clear that a sick person was about to die a man was told to put in the *aveave*, which he did as a mark to direct those whose business it was to see to the digging of the grave and carrying out of the burial. The *aveave* was left at the grave to grow. The expression, therefore, is equivalent to saying that so-and-so is nearing his end, that it is all up with him.

It is interesting to note that a grave was not left open. The digging of the grave was one of the last pieces of work done in preparation for the interment and never done before the sick person was actually dead, though the *aveave* might be planted while the patient was still alive. In recent years we have seen a coffin made for an old lady, who though frail had vitality sufficient to do a little work even outside the house, and who survived by many months the completion of her coffin, which stood meanwhile on the side verandah of her house. Should an interment be postponed till the day after the grave had been dug, the hole will be filled in and dug out again on the next day. (See No. 498.)

539 **506. Tuui tae fakakava:** Visiting mourners without kava.

765 In visits to the friends and relatives of a person recently deceased it
276 is customary to take gifts to the mourners; particularly to present them with
574
431

kava. A visit without kava would lack the most important article which 539
the comforters should take. This phrase indicates a visit unaccompanied 765
by the "real thing," that which is the real substance of the ceremony. 276
Generally used of that which appears all right but is more or less of a 574
hollow pretence. 431

507. Vai kauaki: Water (for) dying man. 539 763

Used of that which is given to a dying man to satisfy any longing he may have. If he wants a drink of water give it to him. Literally it refers to giving the dying whatever they may want when it is obvious that nothing can do any good or any harm and that by satisfying any desire expressed at such a time the last moments may be made happier. We have also seen the phrase in a context that seemed to imply that the draught of water was life-giving; but probably the idea is that it restored the spirits of the dying man without giving him any real chance of life. Comforting, soothing. [271]

WRONG-DOING; RETRIBUTION

508. E lavea ae taka nofo i he ngaue ae taka tuu: The good will be wounded by the conduct of the bad: wrong-doing which involves the innocent as well as the guilty in punishment. 539 183

Taka nofo and *taka tuu*, which mean literally, "he who sits" and "he who stands," perhaps get their meanings of good and bad, as applied to conduct, from the idea of one who sits quietly attending to his own business, and of one who must always be up and gadding round into mischief. Perhaps they refer primarily to the behavior proper to the kava ring where all should sit except when it is necessary to get up to perform some office connected with the ceremony.

509. Faifaimalie a nunua: Retribution coming on slowly.

Although the retribution of evil deeds seems to tarry, yet come it will.

510. Jii pe lele ae kaihaa kae fai: The thief's run is but short, but it is done.

If a thief is discovered he must make a bolt. Even if he is unable to run far and is soon caught he may as well make a dash for it and try to get away. Not a very successful attempt, but still a try.

511. Kaihaa tangi tauloto: A thief who wants to *tauloto*. 539 482 685

Tauloto is to carry two burdens or baskets slung on the ends of a stick over the shoulder. If a man desires to steal he will be well advised to limit his depredations to what can easily be comprised in a single bundle and carried without difficulty. If he takes so much that he has to make up two bundles and carry them at the ends of a stick his chances of evading discovery and capture are much lessened. Not only so, but if caught he is much more likely to be forgiven if he is getting off with a swag of moderate size. If you are out for theft there is no sense in over-doing it.

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643 more into the hands of great lords, notably the Tui Kanokupolu of Western
644 Tongatabu. The decline of prestige which inevitably follows sooner or
565 later on that of real power was already apparent before the coming of
178 the Europeans and Christianity hastened the political changes which have
almost completed the process.]

539 **546. Hala o Taanea:** Way of Taanea.
576 This is an expression used by one in claiming for himself, not arro-
554 gantly but almost apologetically, a place or right from which he has been
276 formerly debarred. Different tales are told of the origin of the phrase.
One account says that there was a great warrior called Taanea who had no seat in the kava ring until at last he went to a kava ring and with the customary word of apology, much like the English "Excuse me," merely sat down in the circle. Another account refers the name Taanea not to a man but to the place Taanea in Vavau. According to this story a Tui Tonga who was living in Vavau was one day being borne along in his litter and came to a place where a man named Fukofuka was digging. Fukofuka left his work and took a place among the Tui Tonga's bearers and went right on without a change till the party reached the cemetery at Taanea. The Tui Tonga then thanked him for keeping so long at this task without a rest and told him to run, and that he could have as much land as he ran round without stopping. Fukofuka, notwithstanding his previous labors, completed the circuit of a large piece of land which the Tui Tonga duly gave him. This is said to be the reason that the chief Vahai holds Taanea, for Fukofuka belongs to a younger branch of the Vahai family. Fukofuka, apparently when he returned from his run, found the Tui Tonga drinking kava and was given by him a seat in the upper part of the circle (*alofi*). Fukofuka, with the appropriate word of apology, passed to his place. So anyone going to a place or claiming a privilege to which he is not strictly entitled may say "Way of Taanea," as a sort of apology.

539 **547. Ka i Mua:** Speaking in Mua.
565 Applied to one who is expert in the procedure of ceremonies, dances,
554 and other functions. He is a man of sufficiently chiefly rank to be among
555 the important people in the chiefly town of Mua, a name most often used
[103] for the important village in Eastern Tongatabu associated with the Tui
Tonga, but which is also a name of the chief town in a country. Applied generally to one who is very skillful in anything; it is only to be expected that so-and-so should be proficient.

539 **548. Nofo i he api Moli kae fu hala:** Living in the compound
644 called Moli yet clapping wrongly.
535 The compound called Moli was a residence of the Tui Tonga and was
276 of course a center for the practising of dances and for all the ceremonial
connected with the kava and such matters. In some dances time is kept by clapping the hands, and in kava drinking the person whose name is called to receive the cup that has just been filled claps his hands to indicate his position. Clapping, therefore, is used in this expression as a type

of the general behavior and ceremonial connected with dances, kava, and 539
other matters whose chief center and exposition is in the Tui Tonga's 644
court. To live in the midst of opportunity and yet to obtain little ad- 276
vantage from it. 535

549. Pulu e tuku: Easy with the rope; let down gently. 539

The *tuku* is in this instance the rope with which the slab was lowered 643
on to the top of a vault. It is said that the man whose duty it was to 764
arrange the body of a Tui Tonga in the vault would often try to steal one of the fine mats wound round the dead chief's body. To be able the better to accomplish this purpose he would endeavor to get one of his friends on the end of the rope with which the stone cover was lowered over the grave, and would adjure him to let down slowly. If he were shut in the grave he would have to stay there and die, as the vault could not be opened to let him out without imperilling the life of the new Tui Tonga who had just succeeded.

We have heard this phrase repeated with the addition "that I may live"; "Let down gently that I may live," which looks as though at one period the man who descended into the vault ran some danger of being shut in even without wasting time down below trying to steal valuables from the body of the chief. One might hazard the conjecture that it marks a transition from a period when the man who went down into the grave with the Tui Tonga always stayed there and that the story of the mat stealing is an invention of later times. In front of a row of Langis, or Tui Tonga vaults in Mua, Tongatabu, is a row of smaller vaults which are said to be the escorts to the larger Tui Tonga graves to which they
are contiguous. It is stated that these vaults contain the bodies of the [644]
matapules of the Tui Tonga, though there is no statement that the
matapules were made eligible for the grave for the special purpose of occupying their proper official position in the entourage of their dead chiefs. Sometimes the expression is enlarged, *Pulu ho tuku tuta ho vae,* Let go gently with your rope, dig in your feet.

Proverbially the expression means to go slowly and give one a chance of escape.

550. Sani Tungua: Tungua glory. 539

The island of Tungua, in the Haapai group, although it is tiny and 644
out of the way, was yet the residence of the Tamaha, the child of the Female Tui Tonga the peak of Tongan nobility. The Female Tui Tonga also seems to have spent much time there. One of the two chiefs who were the usual mates for the Female Tui Tonga holds this island as part of his estates and the modern holders of the title have fre-
quently resided there. All this chiefliness clinging about the islet of Tungua 539
is the boast of its people but the expression "*Sani Tungua,*" rather strangely, 183
is used ironically of one who boasts of what he will do for another and 829
what he will give to him but who has not the material backing to make good his words. The idea evidently is that the resources of the little island are not commensurate with its chiefly pretensions.

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539 **551. Tutungia a hulu Tungua:** Shrivelling of Tungua leaf.
644 A thing that is past its prime or damaged, but yet valued. Tungua was
183 a residence of the great chief women, the Female Tui Tonga, and the
Tamaha. The expression is said to have originated in the fact that there was once a Female Tui Tonga who suffered from some facial disfigurement. She apparently is the shrivelled Tungua leaf. Whatever misfortune might befall so great a personage she was still the Female Tui Tonga, and so to be regarded with reverence.

539 **552. Tuanaki Auka:** Depending on Auka.
571 Tradition says that Auka was one of the men in close attendance upon
643 the Tui Tonga, Telea. On account of a wrong committed by Talafaiva,
644 the wife of Telea, Auka was bidden by his royal master to take her and
kill her. Auka performed the Tui Tonga's bidding to the letter, much to the chagrin of the latter, who loved Talafaiva dearly and who supposed that Auka knew his heart sufficiently well to understand that he did not really desire his harsh order to be carried out. Hence a vain confidence, to depend on one who does not come up to expectation.

539 **553. Vete fakafutuna:** Plunder like the Futunans, that is, to
643 plunder completely, strip of everything.
648 The Tui Tonga, Kauulufonuafekai (16th century?) the great voyager
173 and warrior, went in pursuit of the two men, Tamajia and Malofafa, who
had murdered his father Takalaua, the previous Tui Tonga. Kauulufonuafekai and his brothers pursued the murderers from island to island, at length coming up with them in Futuna in the New Hebrides. A battle followed after which the Tongans withdrew to a small island called Alofa, but by a misadvertence Latu-toevave, the youngest brother of the Tui Tonga, was left behind on the island where the battle was fought. The Futunans did not kill him but by his advice did obeisance on the following day to the victorious Kauulufonuafekai. Peace was made between Futuna and the Tongans and the Tui Tonga, in recognition of the kindness of his late foes in sparing the life of his brother, ceded to them the right to take for their own any Tongan boat that might touch at their shores, and all that it contained, stipulating only that the people should in no way be molested. This right has been exercised by the people of Futuna and has apparently been carried out so thoroughly as to pass into a proverb.

(Compare the Samoan word *faatafuna*, to lay waste. Possibly *tafuna* became *fatuna* by metathesis and then through misunderstanding was altered to *futuna*, the name of the island.)

KAVA

[The dried root of the kava (*Piper methisticum*) is ground and well
276 mixed with water. The dregs of solid root are strained out and the infusion
[137] drunk. It is the indispensable adjunct of ceremonies, and even a party of
276 friends sitting together do not drink kava without a considerable amount
576 of formality. Proper precedence in the kava circle is most carefully ob-
565 served. A chief's rank is accurately indicated not only by his position in
554 the ring but also by the order in which he is served.]

554. **Fele a toua:** *Toua* is widely scattered, that is, a multitude in the *toua.* 539 276 554

The *toua* (pronounced to-wa) are those who sit where the kava is prepared in a kava ceremony; they are, for the most part, people of no rank and do not drink the kava, that privilege being reserved for their superiors in the *alofi*, or chiefly circle. This expression then indicates a big crowd of people who do not count for much.

555. **Fufu mo kokohu:** Clapping (the hollowed hands) and dust rising. 539 276

When there is a shortage of kava the people are constrained to use the little rootlets projecting from the thick part of the main root which in times of plenty they would throw away. To cleanse these rootlets of adhering earth they are rubbed in the hands, then held in the hollow of one hand while the other hand is beaten down on top of them, thus causing dust to arise. This expression is used in a deprecating way by a man who has only a small piece of kava to offer to his friends, and indicates that with this small piece he is completely at the end of his resources.

556. **Molumalu faka-fono:** Good appearances, *fono* fashion.

The *fono* is the food served with the kava. The distribution of food with kava is frequently a mere formality to comply with ceremonial requirements, and the little food given out is seldom eaten. The phrase indicates therefore appearances that are only appearances without any solid backing of substance. [264] [576]

557. **Nofo e fononga kae eke kava:** The visitors having no share, but asking for kava; or perhaps more intelligibly, asking for kava, but the visitors having no share in it (literally, the visitors sitting, that is, just sitting quiet without part or lot in what is going on). 539 276 574

If guests arrive at one's house it is proper to prepare kava to greet them. This phrase indicates one who should ask for and obtain kava but then takes it off and uses it for some other purpose, neglecting the obvious duty of polite hospitality of preparing the beverage to greet his visitors.

WAR

558. **Fakalali pakola:** Like drum of prisoners of war, that is, the peculiar beating of the drum indicating that prisoners had been taken. 539 727 266

Cannibalism was only sporadic in Tonga, and never widespread. The word *pakola* is of Fijian introduction, and in Fiji indicated prisoners of war designed for the oven. Baker considers it an introduced word from Fiji, used in a low way for "Die, you wretches." In Fiji, therefore, the *pakola* drum would seem to indicate that the butcher was about to call, but such a meaning can never have been general in Tonga. [177] [192]

539 cut down another grows up. In either case the reference is to the same
thing, the labors and struggles of one mighty man who has fallen are taken
726 up by another. This proverb appears in a couplet, "*Ta e tea tuu e toa,*
701 *Iloga he vale bea hola.*" "A champion has fallen, a champion stands, let
824 him who is unskilled flee."

[137] **569. Tala pea taki mai ha tau:** Tell and bring an army.

539 Like number 536 a derisive retort to one who threatens to report
571 one's conduct. Tell and bring an army to back up your censure. What
difference is it going to make if you do tell so-and-so? Is there going to
be an army sent to punish me? The same idea is expressed also by *Tala
pea e fai ha tau:* Tell, and is there going to be a war?

539 **570. Tata langovaka:** Striking compensation, that is, fighting
721 again to compensate for a previous defeat.

571 One will use his utmost endeavors to make good the earlier defeat.
183 Used generally of putting forth one's full effort so as to compensate for a
previous failure.

539 **571. Tau kovi pea kovi hono toi:** Bad fighting and bad hiding.

725 A skillful leader may make good the deficiency in numbers of his
183 troops by a wise use of cover. This indicates a state of things that was bad
enough in the beginning and was not remedied by judicious management.

539 **572. Tofi-kulu:** Head splitting: a knock-out blow.

726 Used of a final, decisive stroke, an unanswerable argument. The word
194 *kulu*, head, is interesting as showing the initial *k* which has been replaced
in the ordinary form of the word by the glottal stop.

539 **573. Tulituli ta:** Chasing up (the) stroke.

726 An expression from warfare, indicating one who is pursuing a fleeing
foe and is just about within striking distance. Applied to one who is
461 putting forth all his effort to accomplish something which he is on the
183 point of bringing off.

539 **574. Vava faka-Vaipoa:** Rejoicing Vaipoa-like.

726 Vaipoa is a village in Vavau. The phrase is applied to joyful expecta-
276 tions that are not realized. The expression is said to have originated with
a great warrior named Mahina who lived in Vaipoa. It was customary to
554 hold a kava ceremony on the eve of battle, and during the ceremony the braves would boast, or pledge themselves to valiant action. It was not unusual for a warrior to boast that he would kill the first foe that should be slain. This of course pledged him to rush foremost into the thick of the battle. Occasionally the chief of the army would give to the champion who pledged himself to such an undertaking the most important cup of kava, in this case the first, the chief's own. On one occasion Mahina with his fellows of Vaipoa was on a warlike expedition and at the kava preceding the battle Mahina pledged himself to slay the first of the enemy

and was given the principal cup by the commander-in-chief. The army 539
raised a shout of joy on hearing the pledge of Mahina, regarding the 726
undertaking of so noted a warrior as a thing already as good as done, but 276
when the battle was joined the honor of first blood fell to another. The 554
chief on being told that Vaipoa had not succeeded in performing his vaunt, remarked in reference to the earlier confident applause of the hero's admirers, "That was Vaipoa rejoicing."

575. Ta ae uluafi: Slay the first foe; the head of battle. 539

Ulu-afi seems to mean literally the head of fire, and is a term regu- 726
larly used of the first man killed in battle. To kill the first foe is used of overcoming initial difficulties, securing a first success, in much the same way as we speak of drawing first blood.

576. He oku puli ae kava i Atata? Is the kava in Atata lost to 539
view, or forgotten? 726

Atata is a small island just off the coast of western Tongatabu. Just 276
before engaging in battle it was the practice to hold a kava ceremony at 554
which the first cup was sometimes given to the warrior who pledged himself to be the first to slay one of the enemy. The first slain was called by a special name, *uluafi,* which apparently means literally "head of fire." On the occasion commemorated in this expression the kava before battle was drunk on the island of Atata, the first cup being duly claimed and drunk by a certain brave. When the battle was joined and the first of the enemy slain the commanding chief asked who had struck him down, when the warrior who had taken the pledge of the first cup answered, "Is the kava in Atata forgotten?" thus proudly asserting that he who had pledged himself in the kava was of course the one who had performed the feat.

SPORTS AND GAMES

LAFO

[*Lafo* is a game played by throwing large beans or disks of coconut- 524
shell along a mat, the object being to make the disk stand as close as possible to the edge of the mat. The mat is bolstered up along the sides so as to present a concave surface. Usually it is played by teams of two, a pair of opponents sitting together at each end; but there was a form of the game in which the single men were replaced by groups of five, thus making teams of ten—two groups of five each at either end. In this form of the game the leaders of the fives sat at the ends of the mat two pairs facing each other, while the remaining parties of four sat round the corners, at the sides of the mat, and turned slightly aslant so as to face along the mat. There were five pieces to throw, and in the game where there were five men instead of one, each man had but one piece; in the form played by teams of two each man throws five pieces. Opponents throw alternately. The score is reckoned from six to ten, these five points constituting an *ulu*, game, and the winning side is that which scores the greater number out of five *ulus.* In the case of the sides being equal with two *ulus* each the fifth game is scored from one to ten, thus having ten points. *Lafo* is a fine game, but little played now.]

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821 ably an older and more correct form is Lua-tangata, or Lua'i-
[773] tangata, two men. Lua, two, is not now found as a common
[802] numeral in Tongan, the ordinary form being ua, but *lua* is the numeral two in Samoan, and is found in Tongan in composition. Both Brown[2] and Pratt[3] give Lua-tangata as the Samoan name for Castor and Pollux, with Filo and Mea as the individual names of the two stars, but the presence of Lua-a-tangata in the southern zone and in close proximity to the Southern Cross in the Tongan list is against this identification for Tonga.

Other names for stars in the southern division are Tuutanga-ufi (piece of yam), and Mamangi Halahu, both of which appear to be variants for stars already mentioned, possibly for alpha Centauri, or according to other information for Moa-a-mahe. Tuutanga-ufi is the name used by the people of Ula, the chief sailor of the Tui Kanokupolu. Halahu is the name of a place in the high island of Eua near Tongatabu, where the species of yam called *mamangi* is supposed to flourish with exceptional luxuriance. This star was used in sailing from Fiji to Tonga.

[276] Still another name for Mamangi Halahu is Mau-kuo-mau, an
[574] expression meaning got (arrived at) when clear, and used of a person who arrives at a kava party when the beverage has been strained and is clean and ready for drinking. The people of the Haapai chief Tuita are said to use this name for the star.

The dark patch of sky near the left-hand end of the Southern Cross is called Humu, and is brought into close association with the Southern Cross, as for example in the verse, which in the absence of legend is not remarkably intelligible:

[539] Humu moe Toloa	Humu and Toloa
To hono fuji pea vaoa;	Plant their plantain and overgrown with bush;
Pea lele mai kuli Fiji.	And Fiji dog runs hither.
Tali fanaia, hala he vae, tau he ate.	His reception is being shot, missed in the leg, hit in the liver.

Humu is the name of a fish. The Samoan word *sumu* is the name of fishes of the genus Ballistes, and also the name of a clus-

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[113] [2] Brown, George. Melanesians and Polynesians, p. 348. London, 1910.
[3] Op. cit.

9

As soon as the morning dawned, they arose; and then took place the important ceremony of drinking Kava, and eating yams, &c. which formed their breakfast; in which as much order and exactness were observed, as in the forming and exercising a regiment of soldiers. The Kava is a root planted principally for the use of the chiefs: and too scarce for the lower orders. 175 276

It is made into a spirit of an intoxicating nature. The top and branches of this plant are thrown away. The root alone is used, and this is of a soft nature, that may be beaten to pieces. The root is first scraped with a shell, and rubbed clean with the rough husk of the cocoa-nut, and then divided among the company to be prepared for making the liquor.

A large circle is formed by the whole company, all sitting in the same posture, with their legs crossed. The chief sits at the head of it. On each side of him are stationed the tackhangers, or ministers of the chief, to superintend the preparation of the Kava. The Kava is then brought before the chief. The person who is to mix it, by order of the Tackhangers, then splits the root into small pieces with a flat piece of wood, or whale bone, which they procure from the bodies of dead whales that are sometimes thrown upon the coast. The pieces of Kava root thus split, are then distributed amongst the circle, who hand them to the young people a- 175 276 574

175 mong them who have clean teeth, fit to chew it.
276 Each person has a leaf by him, on which he lays
574 his portion of masticated Kava root. When it is all
chewed, a large bowl with three legs is handed round, and they empty their leaves, containing the prepared Kava root, into it. The bowl is then placed within the circle opposite the chief; and on each side of it are seated two young men, with plantain leaves, to keep off the flies. The person who has the management of the bowl having received the different portions of masticated root, turns it on one side to show it to the tackhangers, and with his face towards the chief, calls out to the tackhangers, "Gooch Kava anama." "All the Kava is chewed."

If the tackhangers judge that there is sufficient for the company, they say "Baloo," "mix it." Then one of the persons holding the fans of plantain branches, pours water out of cocoa-nut shells, which stand near them in readiness, while the other keeps off the flies. As he pours, the tackhanger notes and regulates the quantity, and at length calls out "Moua," i. e. "stop."

The root, thus chewed, and mixed with water, is then squeezed by handfuls held up for the tackhangers to judge of the strength of the liquor, as it falls into the dish: if it appears sufficiently strong, a strainer is brought, made of the inner bark of a tree, which, when scraped thin and fine, and well

175 washed, is laid out to dry, and becomes very white
276 and clean. With this, they strain the liquor from
the masticated Kava root. When they have repeat-
514 ed the straining three or four times, and perfectly
cleansed it, the person who sits by the bowl calls
out "Tooma Kava," the "Kava is clean." During
this time the company, who are sitting in silence, are
not idle: they form dishes in a curious and skilful
manner of plantain leaves. As soon as the Kava is
ready, appointed persons rise from the circle with
their plantain dishes, and approach the bowl. The
man who mixed it then takes up a large strainer
full, and another holds his dish underneath, over the
great bowl, till it is filled. The former then calls
out, "Kava go aga." "Whose is this Kava?" The
tackhanger replies, "Havee ge Dabou." "Take it
to Dabou," or to any other person whose name was
mentioned. In this way, the name of every one
of the company is repeated, before he is served.
The person whose name is pronounced, then claps
his hands, and the waiter, by this signal informed
which it is, takes the Kava to him. The persons
serving it out to the company, conduct themselves
in the most becoming and orderly manner, arranging
their apparel with the greatest neatness, walking
with grace, and presenting it with ceremonious po-
[516] liteness. If a man were to conduct himself with
the least disorder or disrespect, the chief would or-
[643] der him to be struck down. When they present
[516]

175 the Kava to Duatonga, or any of his family, all of
276 whom are considered sacred, they must sit down
574 cross-legged, before they deliver it out of their
[643] hands.

[516] During the preparation of the Kava, the Tomaa-
gee, or principal servants of the chief, are busily
[252] employed in an out house built for the purpose, in
[264] baking yams. These, as soon as ready, they bring
in baskets, made of entwined leaves, and lay them
[285] before the chief and the circle of guests as far as they
[262] go. They eat these yams after drinking the Kava;
[521] and during their meal talk with each other, as they
please, on different subjects.

Whenever the lower orders can procure the Kava,
175 they always drink it in companies in this festive
565 manner; in which they often spend the two or three
276 first hours of the morning. They have this pleasure,
574 however, but seldom, as the chiefs generally exact
it of them, to drink it with their brother chiefs and
175 their attendants. They exercise an arbitrary pow-
565 er over the lower orders, and have every thing be-
421 longing to them in their power, which their sub-of-
ficers take from them, without ceremony, as the
175 chief may need. Though the provision they have
565 by them be ever so scanty, they are required to cook
261 a part of it for the chief; so that they are frequent-
ly obliged to eat the root of the plantain-tree, for a
[262] wretched subsistance, or to resort to the chief, and
beg some food. The chief will send his attendants

round the districts, in a time of scarcity, and order 175
the people to dress a certain quantity of provisions 565
for him by a limited time; with which he lays up 261
a store for himself, and his wives and household;
and leaves others to get what they can.

They often drink the Kava from break of day 175
to eleven or twelve o'clock at noon, till their attendants 512
are completely tired of waiting on them. They [276]
then go and lie down, and sleep for two or three hours; [513]
when they rise, they bathe, walk among the plantations, [517]
or amuse themselves in wrestling, boxing, or any other way that pleases their fancy; but particularly in bathing, playing in the water, and shooting
of arrows. Bathing is a very favourite amusement, 175
in which they generally indulge two or three times 526
a day. Both sexes often play together in the water at the following diversion: they fix two posts, about a hundred yards distant from each other, in a depth of water about four feet, near the shore, and midway betwixt them is placed a large stone. Then dividing into two companies, the game is, which side can first tug the stone to their own post. In playing at this diversion with them, I have seen numbers at the bottom of the water together, hauling and pulling the stone different ways, with all the eagerness that contending parties, in the northern counties of England, exert themselves to drive the shinney to its goal. When a diver returned to the surface, for breath, another of his party instantly

226 closed if large. The discovery of this "shark-house" by
[789] unauthorised persons in the village is sufficient to give bad
[784] luck to the fisherman.

When the expedition returns with its catch of sharks,
[202] a conch shell-trumpet is blown while the cutter is still some
distance away from Pangai. If this is the first time that
[574] this cutter has been successfully used for shark-fishing, a
large feast will be prepared for the fishermen. If the cutter
has been used before, only a small feast is necessary. The
catch is divided by the expert in charge. Of a catch of say,
[644] fifteen sharks, one is given to the village overseer as the
[793] representative of authority, one is given to the pastor of the
established church (both of these sharks are looked upon
[651] as tribute indirectly to royalty—to the representative of
royalty, to the representative of the royal church), and the
remainder are divided among the households of the village.
A smaller catch would be divided in the same proportions.
226 If a house has been used as the "shark-house," the expert
789 makes *kava* in this house. After this *kava* has been drunk by
784 the fishermen and all the other men of the village, the *tapu*
is considered lifted from the house. If some small object
276 has been used as a "shark-house," this object is taken inside
the house in which *kava* is made. In both cases the formal
making of *kava* lifts the *tapu*; the house or object may
thereafter be used for any ordinary purposes.

226 Throughout the fishing, the preliminaries and the conclusion, the village expert fisherman for shark-fishing is in
complete charge of the proceedings. He directs the expedition in every particular. The months from September to
[221] February are the official shark-fishing months.

Net-fishing methods for smaller fish are also employed. The hand-net may be used by one man or else a group of three or more men combine to use the European seine-net. The large net may be set during high water and left until low tide when the catch is taken and divided among the men, or else several men may hold the mouth of the net open while others beat the water with sticks and try to drive the fish into the net. No expert supervision is needed for this type of fishing.

For fishing which uses a long line of plaited coconut-sheets *(pola)*, more organization is necessary, and here the

in the social life of the individual or group will be 574
described. Here the various kinds of feasts may be classified 527
in order to show the status-hierarchies that are symbolized
by feast-occasions. The types of feasts required by specific 574
occasions are named after the size of the pig and the size 527
of the *kava* root that are considered necessary for this
occasion. To the villager a pig is not merely a pig and 554
nothing else. The pig has value as a source of food. It has 262
greater value, however, as the symbolic expression of the [231]
struggles of a household to do what is fit and requisite in [276]
expressing its social status on feast-occasions.[14] The villager
rarely talks of a pig, generically. He talks of this pig or of
that pig as being a *toho* or a *hula* or a *ha'amo*, using these
terms to express the hierarchy of feasts which pigs of various
sizes will be called on to grace. Pigs are carefully nurtured
and fattened by a household according to the schedule of
likely future social obligations. When one of these obligations is carried out with a pig of obligatory size, or with a
pig of larger size if there is urge to ostentatious display,
then the household is satisfied that it has not failed in that
implicit, but nonetheless precise, measure of the give and
take that is basic to the functioning of reciprocal obligations.

The hierarchy of feasts together with the ancient and 527
modern occasions for their display, are as follows: 574

Umu puaka toho: feast with a pig and *kava* root of 262
toho size. The pig is a fully-tusked boar or a very large- [276]
sized sow. This feast is held for such varied occasions as
first, the feast given by an important father at the wedding
of his favourite child; second, the feast contributed by the
village as part of its gifts should the Queen of Tonga visit
Vava'u; third, the feast (though it would be somewhat
ostentatious in this connection) given by a child should the
mother come to visit from another part of the kingdom;
finally, the feast given to mark the occasion of the purchase

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[14] Gifford (*Tongan Society*, p. 108) makes the following statement: [613]
"An example of what would seem an opprobrious epithet for a group of
people is Puaka Haa Ngana (Pigs of the Lineage of Ngana)." It is
highly doubtful whether a Tongan would regard this lineage-name as
opprobrious. To the villager pigs are not opprobrious or common or
vulgar: they are both glamorous and glorious! The name Puaka is [551]
a not uncommon personal name. None of the villagers felt that such a
name meant anything insulting. It was just a name—and nothing else.

527 of a new cart, wagon or motor-truck—a man's sister's
574 children, dressed in their best clothes, take the first ride in
the new vehicle, thereafter being entertained with a feast
262 of this type, an occasion which would rarely happen in
Pangai where wheeled vehicles are unknown.

Umu hula: the *hula* pig and *hula kava* root are second
(276) largest in size. A feast with this pig is obligatory first, when close blood or affinal relatives come together after long residence far apart; second, when the parents of a child that one has adopted come from another part of the kingdom to visit the household; third, for the feast that is served the women working together in the village bark cloth-making house.

Umu puaka ha'amo: the pig for this feast is just too heavy to carry by hand and must be tied to a carrying-pole for easy lifting.

Umu fakahunga: this requires a pig of large size but one that is manageable by hand.

Umu kaveitau: it is unnecessary to serve a whole pig with this feast; fish, meat, and chicken form the main flesh-relish with small pieces of pork additional.

527 The last three feasts mentioned above are all in order
on occasions of marriage, death, mourning, and the like.
574 The status of the household giving the feast is measured by
554 the size of pig and *kava*-root employed as the major feature
592 of the feast. Households with few resources would give an
262 *umu kaveitau*; those with greater wealth and resources to
draw on would not be content with less than an *umu puaka ha'amo.* Greater prestige may also be given to any of these feasts by serving several pigs of a named size, or else by serving one large pig together with many pigs of smaller size, or finally, one large pig of named size and many small portions of pork. The variations in service are endless, but the feast is known by the size of the largest pig on display.

Two further types of prepared foods are used to mark
527 minor occasions. The *kai me'a kai* is the name of the collec-
262 tion of food taken by a party going off to spend the day picnicking. The women put much work into preparing the food for such a gathering. The result, therefore, is much different from the order of foods that would be prominent at a white man's picnic. A suckling-pig may often be oven-

feast for the mother's relatives. Inside the house in the 846
public section and separated from the mother by the bark 574
cloth partition, the mother's relatives congregate: three or [602]
four men and perhaps ten or twelve women. A girl makes 846
kava while the group sits talking. A man comes into the 574
house, throws a gift of *kava* onto the floor in the centre of 276
the room and says: "*Malo ae faele*"—"Thank you for the [431]
child's birth." All drink *kava*. *Kava* drinking and talking
continue for the rest of the day. For the second day, visitors
continue to come to the house, but they are fewer and there
is no *kava*-drinking. Male relatives of the mother bring 846
gifts of *kava*, female relatives bring gifts of baby-clothing. 574
After the third day, visitors stop calling at the house. 431
Relatives of the father do not visit during these early days. 602
Toward the end of the ten-day period, they are formally
invited by the father to visit the baby and mother. Food
and *kava* are prepared for their visit.

It is to be noted that the mother's relatives receive first 846
attention and are the only visitors allowed the mother during 574
the early days of the confinement. Only later are the father's 602
relatives present, and then only by invitation. According to 829
village theory, the mother is presenting her husband's household with an item of great value. It is right, therefore, that she and her family should be honoured above all others. For the moment, the mother's family is active. The father's group is merely the passive recipient of the gift of new life. It is right, therefore, that this group should occupy a background position in the birth celebrations.

NAMING

The infant is named within a few hours after birth. 553
The name is given by the father's sister *(mehekitanga)*, by 604
her son or daughter, or by some other close relative of the
father's sister. This person formally asks the privilege of
giving the name or, rather, of naming the name by which
the child shall be known. At the same time she gives the [431]
child a present of clothing or a small baby-mat. Three days [574]
later, the father makes a feast for the name-giver and she
receives gifts of mats and bark cloth which have been [431]
collected together by the father's mother and the mother's
mother.

836 were virgins. This is probably true, but it is likely that more freedom is allowed post-adolescent boys to enjoy what experiences they can in any other village than Pangai. One woman in Pangai is alleged to be a prostitute *(lele tau)*. [548] Probably she has gained this reputation because of promiscuous habits and a natural tendency on the part of some young men to bring her an occasional gift. Some after [882] dark chaperoning is also due to fear of ghosts on the part of young girls, especially if messages or missions take them [775] close to the bush that surrounds the village. But present [183] ideals of chastity in girls undoubtedly receive considerable support from Christian religious sanctions. Both the ideal [795] and the sanction are stressed continually in Protestant church teaching and in Catholic convent-schooling.

584 Nothing can suggest more vividly current practices of courtship in Pangai than the following account of events in Biukala's life that led up to his marriage:

> One day, when Biukala was twenty-three years old, his father asked him which of the many girls of his acquaintance would be his choice for a marriage-mate. Biukala answered that he was not pleased with any of these girls, some he thought were pretty only, and none of them seemed clever. Many Pangai girls had sought excuse to visit his father's house, ostensibly bringing messages for his mother, but in reality trying to display their charms before a personable young man. His father's question served the purpose of bringing the matter of his marriage before Biukala's mind, so he thought he would visit other villages to see if he could find a more suitable mate than was available in Pangai. He already had a mistress in Neiafu whom he occasionally visited, but he did not consider her seriously as a mate.
>
> 584 574 276 One day as he was on his way to visit some relatives in an isolated village in Vava'u, he passed through the village of Ha'akio and was casually invited to stop and drink some *kava* that was being prepared for a group of men, mostly old men with three or four younger men talking idly among themselves. The girl Sepi was making the *kava*. Biukala immediately noticed her skill, youth, and quiet assurance. He sat drinking *kava* all the afternoon and evening, studying 584 the girl carefully. Instead of going on to visit his relatives he returned to Pangai, thought about the matter for four

585 the house. On these mats are sitting the groom's mother's 585 brother (his *fa'e tangata*, called at this time his *fa'e huki*, 604 "lap mother"), and the bride's mother's younger sister. The groom sits in the lap of his mother's brother, the bride in the lap of her mother's sister. They continue to sit thus until the *kava* drinking is finished.

585 276 *Kava* is made and drunk with special ceremony. The bowl is placed before the bride and groom. It is the largest possible bowl and in front of the bowl is the largest possible root of *kava (kava toho)*.[23] The *kava* and the accompanying food are provided by the fathers of both bride and groom. Four men out of the group of those present (termed collectively *tou'a*) are selected to prepare the *kava*-root. The root is cut carefully into three sections. The middle section [777] is laid aside because it brings bad luck to use it. From the two end pieces, the drink is prepared after these pieces have been scraped and cleaned. Two sets of pounding-stones are set on two mats and two men of the group of four slowly pound the *kava* root into small pieces. The groom invites an expert to make the *kava*. He sits before the bowl and prepares the drink from the root as it is passed to him by the pounders. The expert makes great display of skill as he goes through the routine of *kava* making.

585 276 574 262 [605] When the *kava* is ready, the person who is presiding over the circle calls for the *kava*-relish *(fono kava)*. The largest pig *(puaka toho)* is divided in such fashion that the back is presented to the bride's father's sister's child (the bride's *fahu*) and the remainder is divided equally among all the other members of the *kava* circle. Food from the oven is also divided among all those present. Neither pork nor other food may be eaten at this time. It is taken home and eaten after the *kava*-drinking is finished. Now the *kava*-cups are called and after the first round is finished the bride and groom leave the group.

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[804] [23] *Kava* roots are classified in size and named with the same size terms that are applied to pigs. Thus there is *kava toho, kava hula, kava ha'amo, kava fuataha*, just as there are pigs—*puaka toho, puaka hula*, etc. A feast at which a pig of the largest size is served, a *puaka toho*, must also serve a *kava toho*, *kava* of the largest size, and so on in gradations for size of pig, size of *kava* and status of feast.

the family always defers to Tui and consults him in 584
preference to his older brother although the latter is 593
theoretically the head of the family. Tui at first refused to
allow the marriage on the grounds that Paula was too
young. Paula persisted in his request until Tui gave his
assent. Then Paula asked permission to marry from his 584
own mother's brother *(fa'e tangata)*, Semisi. Semisi was 604
agreeable. Finally Paula was sent to obtain the permission
of his father's brother (his own father was dead). This
permission too, was given, and the date fixed by the father's
brother for the next day. All Meletautuli's relatives agreed 584
to the marriage also. Had any of the parties consulted been
unwilling, the marriage would have been postponed.

On the day following all this consultation, Paula 585
together with Tui, Kali, and some friends visited Paula's
father's brother at his home in the nearby village of Toula
carrying a gift of six large yams, ten giant-sized *taro*, and
three small pigs. At about the same time, Melenaite (not
to be confused with the bride Meletautuli) who is Paula's
mother's sister, sent Fa (another sister of Paula's mother),
Litea (Paula's own sister), Loise (mother's younger sister's
daughter of Eniketi, Tui's wife), and Pohiva (Kali's wife)
to the village of Toula to prepare Paula's ceremonial
marriage-skirt *(vala)*. The women took with them about
one fathom of white bark cloth, one fine plaited mat of the
type known as *fihu*, and five plaited mats of the kind called
kie. The bark cloth and mats were all owned by Melenaite.
In Toula, Meletautuli's mother had already got together the
four *kie* mats that were to serve as the bride's ceremonial
skirt. After eating and *kava* drinking, the party all set out [574)
for Neiafu to secure the marriage license. When they (276)
arrived at the town, it was discovered that the bride was only [582)
seventeen years old. Her mother was sent for to give
permission to the marriage. The license was then issued, [435)
Tui paying the fee of six shillings. Then the group went to
the church where the religious ceremony was performed.
Again Tui paid the fee, this time the sum of four shillings. [435)
Tui then hired a motor lorry to carry the party back to [494)
Toula. For the truck-hire he paid three shillings.

After the arrival back at Toula, an oven was opened, [574)
the food laid out on coconut-leaf mats, and all sat down to

585 eat. Most of the party then returned to Pangai, but the
[574] bride and groom, chaperoned by Fa stayed in Toula until
evening. At this time, this second group returned to Pangai
together with the remainder of the bride's family. Mele,
[292] the bride, was wearing her ceremonial skirt, the rest of the
party carrying the sleeping outfit *(mohenga)* which is her
gift to her husband. This outfit consisted of two sleeping-
[513] mats, two small coverings of bark cloth, two pillows and a
[556] basket in which her ceremonial skirt will be kept (this
[565] outfit, incidentally, is rather poor; a wealthier commoner
girl would have at least twelve sleeping-mats in her outfit as
well as many fathoms of bark cloth).

585 In Pangai the wedding party met at Semisi's house (the
574 mother's brother of the groom). Tui's wife, Eniketi, brought
a small piece of bark cloth suitable for a skirt. This she
276 placed round the bride's waist after removing the one the
bride was already wearing. Semisi had meanwhile prepared
a feast. It consisted of four large yams, four giant *taro*,
and a small pig. While the food was cooking, a *kava*-circle
was formed. It consisted of four women including the bride
and eleven men, all relatives of the bride and groom. The
groom Paula, pounded the root while the woman Loise made
the *kava*. The cups of *kava* were called by the groom's
mother's mother's sister's son. When the *kava* was finished,
the oven was opened and all went outside to eat. This was
about nine o'clock in the evening.

More *kava* was served inside the house. There was
[533] singing and solo-dancing by the bride's younger sister until
[535] two o'clock in the morning. When she finished dancing, the
younger sister was given a small bark-cloth skirt by Eniketi.
At this time all the *kava* was finished and the bride's group
585 returned to their own village of Toula. Tui and his wife
slept at one end of the house while the bride and groom
833 slept at the other end of the house. There was no inter-
course on this night nor for the four following nights (five
nights in all). Intercourse with a virgin is termed *fai hono
api*, " to make or cultivate a plantation " (the more general
term for intercourse being *unoho*)—an obvious reference
to a metaphorical planting of seed in the woman—and in
village theorizing, a groom shows his respect and affection
for his bride by waiting five nights or six or longer for his

764 The village undertaker is usually in charge of the corpse
767 at the grave. He is called to the house only if expert
services are required in laying out the body. If, for instance,
there were complications in the death, or if the mouth or
nose began to bleed, then the expert would be called in to
arrange everything in a decent manner.

764 The grave has been dug by relatives during the night.
Other relatives have been at work before dawn preparing
[602] the oven for the funeral feast. The food continues to cook
while the body is being interred. When the corpse reaches
the cemetery, it is lowered into the grave. The undertaker
gets into the grave also and arranges the mats and bark
[767] cloth round the body. He puts a large stone on top of the
body to anchor it to the grave. Then he climbs out and the
[533] grave is filled in. There is singing and praying while this is
being done. Finally the village overseer stands on the grave
[782] and makes a brief statement in which he urges the mourners
[644] to still their grief. He also announces the arrangements
for the funeral feast and *kava*-drinking.

764 A *kava*-circle is formed on an open space near to the
mourners' house. The village overseer is invited to preside.
276 On his left hand sits the undertaker and on his right sits the
574 man who acts as attendant chief *(matapule)* to the village
767 overseer. As the *kava* is being made, the ovens are opened.
Then when the *kava* is clear and ready for drinking, the
624 undertaker orders the food to be displayed. If special
565 formality is desired, five stalks of sugar-cane are brought
644 forward at this time. One stalk is placed before the overseer, two before the undertaker, and two before the attendant
chief. The undertaker and the attendant each break their
stalks into a sufficient number of pieces so that there is one
piece for each of the men of the *kava* circle. This sugar cane
[784] then constitutes the *kava*-relish *(fono ae kava)*.[24] It is *tapu*
to smoke tobacco at any time during this funeral celebration.

764 The *kava* is now served. The undertaker receives the
276 first cup. He pours the *kava* from the cup handed him into
a special *tapu* cup that he carries with him. The other
574

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767 [24] It is common today in the village for the *fahu* to take the *kava*-relish presented to his mother's brother, a custom which Gifford notes
[178] (*Tongan Society*, p. 24) as "anciently not extensively practised among commoners."

764
276 members drink from the cups provided for the circle. After
574 one round of *kava* is finished, the undertaker makes a brief
767 speech which runs as follows:

[537]
[539]

> "Thank you, O chiefly people, for coming to the funeral of this man. Now he rests quietly in his last resting-place. Tomorrow you will all gather together again. We shall finish this funeral on the morrow. We shall finish the work of making the deceased a chiefly person. Then everything will be finished as it should be. Now there is nothing more to do."

[576] The references to chiefly people in these words are merely polite exaggerations indicating respect for the deceased and respect also for those present. They mean, "important people," not people of noble rank, for none in this commoner village has any illusions over his ultimate status in this world.

764 The *kava*-circle breaks up. Each man or family
574 represented goes home with his or its division of the food
which is eaten with other members of the family.

765 On the afternoon of this day, the family of the deceased goes back to the cemetery to spend the afternoon wailing and chanting.

Early next morning, the family and its relatives go to the cemetery at dawn. The men clear away the weeds from the grave. The women go to the nearest beach, bring back clean sand and coral-pebbles to strew on the grave. When
765 this decorating work is finished, another feast is held.
Uncooked food, generally ripe bananas, ripe plantains, sugar
574 cane, melons, papaia, pineapples, bread, is collected together
276 and placed in an open space near the cemetery. A *kava*-
767 circle is formed with the undertaker presiding. Again, when
the *kava* is clear and ready for serving, the undertaker orders the food to be divided. After one round, he makes a further speech of thanks to all those who have attended and helped with the decorating of the grave.

765 Commencing with the night following the burial and for
the following ten nights, there is a strict mourning-period
602 *(mohe* or *nofoaki putu)* for all the close relatives of the
deceased. Only the women sleep in the bereaved house. By day, men and women work bringing food from the bush to feed the group; part of each day is also spent carrying

grave-pebbles and sand to decorate further the grave. On 765
the tenth day, the close male relatives prepare a large feast 602
to bring this mourning period to a close *(fakamalele ae putu)*.
The food is kept until nightfall when all the young boys and 765
girls in the village, all the unmarried youth, that is, from 602
puberty onwards, are invited to come to the deceased's house 574
there to dance, sing and be joyful. The older people sit 276
drinking *kava* and watching the fun. After the first making
of the *kava*, the feast is divided among all present, young
and old. The merry-making and *kava*-drinking continue
until an early hour in the next morning. Then the people
gather up their food-divisions and return home. The period
of mourning is over. Relatives return to their own villages,
if they have come from afar. The everyday life of the
village can renew itself.

For the death of an important individual in the village, 765
this ten-day mourning-period is considered sufficient. During [784)
this time it is *tapu* for anyone in the village to sing, dance,
or make bark cloth. For an important noble, the mourning- 765
period may last for six months or more. The status of the
deceased is shown by the length of his mourning-period and 565
the consequent *tapu* on any joyful activities or on bark cloth 554
making. 784

Semisi, the resident village undertaker *(ha'a tufunga)* 764
is of no high social class. He inherited his skill from his 767
father who was undertaker before him. Semisi would not
attempt to embalm a body. He limits his job to the arrangement
of the corpse in the house (if this is necessary) and to
a general superintendence over the burial. For his services
Semisi is paid with bark cloth, mats, and food. Semisi has 767
the right to the honorific name of Manafa, a name conferred 554
on him by the high chief Lepakuku of the village of Leimatua.
This name not only increases Semisi's importance in the
village—it is the name by which he is called in a *kava* circle—
but it gives him the right to practice undertaking anywhere
in Tonga. In other words, it makes him a sort of recognized
member of the informal guild of Tongan undertakers. After
each burial, Semisi is in a *tapu* state for two or three days. [784)
He eats by himself and does not take any part in food- [264)
preparation. An undertaker of the highest social class must [252)

old woman's broad jokes. These sallies are directed at the 766
cause of the infant's death which the old woman thought 858
was due to over-indulgence in sugar-cane. While a pad of 593
bark cloth is pushed under the infant's chin to hold up its 603
head, the mourners speculate quietly on the fate that has [761]
overtaken the mother's offspring: eight born, four alive, [165]
four dead.

The two old women wipe the dead body and oil it, then wrap it in bark cloth. Finally the mother returns with mats. The body is laid out on the floor and covered with a fine mat up to the neck. The mother now starts wailing over her child, calling out for her brother (the *fa'e tangata* of the dead child) and regretting he is not present. The grandmother chants phrases expressing the wish that the child should have life again. After each call she bends over the child and kisses its face. The father comes in with fly-switches for the mourners. He sits by the head of his child crying quietly. The grandmother soon stops wailing. The
mother continues for a further two hours. Suddenly, the [292]
father remembers that he is without his ceremonial skirt.
He goes off to his house to find it and put it on.

In the afternoon, the pastor of the church comes to the 766
house and holds a prayer meeting over the body. In the 794
evening and all night long, members of the church, of the 782
family and relatives sing hymns and pray. The father digs 858
the grave during the night.

On the following morning at dawn, after regular church 766
attendance, all the men and women of the village dress in 858
their ceremonial skirts and go to the house of death. [794]
Presently the procession moves to the cemetery, the body [292]
of the dead child carried in the arms of the father's brother. There follow at the grave prayers, hymn-singing and then the quick burial.

The women of the family of the dead child return to the 765
mother's mother's house where the women form a *kava*- 858
circle. The men of the family meet in the mother's brother's 574
house for *kava*. This division of the sexes is unusual for a 276
funeral *kava*-circle. The reason given in this case was that 766
the mother's mother's house was too small for all the mourners. Some of the women boiled food which was later

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

765 served to all the mourners. This again is most unusual
858 for a funeral-feast, which should be a large quantity of oven-
574 baked food including the inevitable pig. However, the village
276 overseer had suggested that because the deceased was an
766 infant and because he had died two days after Christmas and
thus in the middle of the holiday-making time, it would be advisable not to trouble with an oven. The parents, being poor, were only too glad to acquiesce in such advice. The mourners disbanded about midday. There was no ten-day mourning period.

766 This account emphasizes the somewhat casual fashion
858 in which an immature infant may be buried as compared
with the burial of an important adult. It must be remembered, however, that the family of the dead child had apparent right to be more casual than most village families would have been in similar circumstances. This was their fourth infant dead. None of the remaining children in this family looked the picture of anything except ill-health and hence the parents could probably expect further deaths among their offspring. It is most likely, however, that little of this casualness would be evident if death had happened to take the first-born and favourite son of affectionate parents.
761 Presumably like most people everywhere, the villagers infuse
152 dynamic quality into the observance of custom according to
the strength of attitude and feeling that they experience.
[765] Where death is not unexpected, or where family status is not
at stake, mourning may become casual. Where it is un-
[594] expected, or where deep affection is involved, or where family
status is at test, then observance of custom becomes charged with all the emotional quality of deeply-felt experience.

MEDICINE

757 For most of his aches, pains, and sicknesses the villager
759 prefers treatment from one of the recognized experts in the
village. He consents to treatment from the white doctor
[743] only if his trouble obstinately refuses to yield to Tongan
[777] types of cure, and some friend or relative, more sceptical of
Tongan medicine, can persuade him to visit the hospital in
753 Neiafu. In general, however, the villager probably feels
775

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

177 759 829 757 A practitioner, therefore, who gives the Tongan only what he can absorb and adapt to at the present phase of cultural change, may thoroughly shock the rigorously-trained white doctor (forgetful as the latter may be at times of the stubborn resistance to modern medicine among the less-enlightened members of his own culture). But at the same time, such a practitioner may in the long run be doing more for the health of the Tongan by giving the patient what he can take instead of what he ought to need, than all the most freely available refinements of surgical skill and drug therapy. Recognition of a sick Tongan rather than of a disease with a Tongan attached thereto is indubitably one of the more important lessons in the book called culture contact!

KAVA-DRINKING

574 276 *Kava*-drinking in Pangai is a purely social activity. For some few men the social significance is outweighed by an addiction to the drink which drives them to drink *kava* more for the drinking's sake than for the opportunities which the drinking provides for social intercourse. These men are exceptional, however. 574 571 For the rest *kava*-drinking provides the excuse for meetings where everything that can possibly come within the intellectual horizon of the villager is argued and discussed again and again. For young people these meetings offer an opportunity to listen to their elders talk. In this way they learn much of the stock information and 574 571 562 traditions of the village. This of course applies only to young men. Young women are not present at these parties, except only the young girl who has been chosen to make the *kava*. But girls may participate as listeners in the smaller and more occasional parties initiated by older women for women only. Older women may also be present at the men's parties, particularly those women of the household in which the party is being held. [584] An older woman or two are most likely to be present at the party if it is pretty clear that it has been started by a young man wishing to court the girl of the household who is acting as *kava*-maker.

574 A record was kept for sixteen days of the frequency of *kava*-parties in the village. There is no reason to assume that the number of parties held during these days was in any

574 four or more parties were held during the sixteen day period
342 were large; the one in which nine were held is the large
592 house of the village overseer—men drift in there to pick up
any late gossip, to discuss island affairs; Biukala's house is
584 large and cool with a spacious verandah where the party
571 could continue even though the household-head retired to an
inner room to sleep; in Hausia's house, the eldest daughter,
besides being a skilled *kava*-maker, was an attraction to the
village youth.

574 Most of the morning and afternoon parties were small
461 and were held at the houses of elderly men (three of them
church-pastors, one the village overseer) not actively
engaged in daily agricultural work. The evening parties
were much larger and usually attended by the men who had
been gardening and working during the day. *Kava*-parties
are regularly held after Sunday mid-morning church and
dinner. They are also customary in the afternoons when
the men feel that the seasonal agricultural work is such that
a morning's work only in the bush plantations is sufficient.
[276] Visitors to a household from another village are always
offered *kava* as a gesture of welcome.

276 The roots used for making the *kava* may either be
bought in the village store or else obtained from the plantation.
432 The *kava*-plant is slow growing. Not all men have
[249] the patience to plant, wait for maturity, then dry properly.
Nor do all men have the money to spare for store-purchase.
276 Note was made of those contributing *kava*-root to the parties.
Some twenty men contributed: nine men once each, five men
twice each, five men from four to six times each, and one
276 man fifteen times. This last man is generally considered
to be the foremost *kava*-drinker in the village, something of
574 an addict in fact, whose consistent and frequent attendance
521 at *kava*-parties is a matter for village gossip. The gossip
[875] is tempered slightly by the fact that the addict is a schoolteacher
who can support his household to a large degree by
his small monetary income and rely upon the services of his
father to look after the household gardens.

574 Frequency of attendance at parties is shown by the next
table.

Table 13.—Frequency of Attendance of Individuals. 574

Number of Attendances of each person	32	14	13	11	10	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	Total	Per cent. village men or women
Men	1	2	1	2	3	3	7	2	3	5	6	10	11	56	81.1
Women	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	2	—	2	13	19	32.6

574 276 This table again suggests that apart from the village addict, the large majority of men are very moderate in their attendance at parties. Similarly, most women attended only one party during the time records were taken. This voluntary attendance of women is of course to be distinguished from the occasions at which women or girls were present because they were required to make the *kava*. About eighty per cent. of the men of the village and some thirty-two per cent. of all the women of the village attended these *kava* parties. Of the forty-six parties held during this period, women made the *kava* thirty-seven times, men nine times. Of the female *kava*-makers, two girls made *kava* seven times each, the remaining twelve women and girls making *kava* either once or twice each. Young men made the *kava* only when it was impossible to find an available girl: the girls were busy cooking or working or sleeping, or the men were too lazy to look for a girl to make the *kava* for them.

571 574 276 The figures given in this section do not claim any literal or final accuracy. It is sufficient if they indicate incidence and trends and suggest the large part that *kava*-drinking plays in village life. They can well form the structural background for the following discussion of the interrelations of *kava*-drinking and the social life of the village.

249 (432) (435) The *kava*-plant is easy to plant, easy to grow, but slow to mature. Few men bother to plant, preferring to buy the prepared root when needed from the store at a price of six pence per pound. The men who do plant, perhaps half a dozen in the village all told, plant once in two or three years, twenty to fifty cuttings for each planting. March is the best month and the best location is a wet, shady place. The roots are ready to dig up in two to three years. They are scraped clean of bark and dirt, dried in the sun for several days and 276 431 574 then stored among the rafters of the house. For ordinary use, a large root is broken into small pieces. For a special gift-occasion or when honouring some visitor, the whole root with long stalk attached is given. The root is laid on a

The root is laid on a
276 mat before the visitor with the stalk pointing towards the
431 receiver. Should he wish to keep it for later use, he takes the
574 root. Should he wish the root to be used immediately, the
[576] visitor reverses the root with the stalk pointing towards the
kava-bowl. It is then taken up by one of the young men
276 present and broken into small pieces with an axe or stone.
The ordinary household considers ten large roots an ample
supply for a year. An addict will consider thirty to forty
large roots the bare minimum for a year.

276 A boy will start drinking *kava* in public and begin to
574 attend *kava*-parties between the ages of seventeen and
twenty. Parents become angry if a younger boy tries to
883 drink in public or in secret. They will scold and whip him
[861] because they think he is wasting his time and energies. Both
boys and girls sometimes chew pieces of *kava* on the sly.
If discovered, they are whipped by their parents. The
children sometimes do not distinguish between dry and green
276 *kava*. Improperly-dried *kava* (green *kava*) is much more
powerful in its effects than dried *kava* and is likely to produce
headaches and a feeling of vague malaise. Most girls do not
begin to drink *kava* before marriage. Thereafter the
majority show no great liking for the drink.

A *kava*-drinking party may be started by any man. He
276 goes to the house of his choice and asks for one of the women
574 or girls to make *kava*. Soon he will be joined by other men.
Or else two or three men go in a group together. It is usual
for a man to go to a different house on successive nights.
The householder may provide his own piece of *kava* to start
off the drinking. Generally he does not, leaving this to his
guests. The householder is reckoned to be providing
numerous other services: the house, the bowl, the maker,
the lamp, and the kerosene. The first time a man comes to a
276 house to visit, it is bad form for him not to bring a gift of
574 *kava*. A frequent visitor to a house will bring an occasional
576 gift. A visitor from another village uses his own discretion
431 as to whether he brings *kava* with him. If the visitor brings
a gift of *kava*-root and the householder provides none, then
the householder receives the first cup of *kava*. If on the
other hand, the householder also provides *kava*-root, then
both pieces are used for the first bowl and the visitor is the
one to drink first.

276 574 576 584 A special case is provided by a young man courting. The young man Avai, for instance, goes to Fakataha's house. If the household is awake he walks inside. If all are asleep, he wakens the group before entering and asking for the girl Ana to make *kava* for him. Other young men drift into the house as soon as a light begins to shine. Avai pounds the *kava* he has brought while Ana makes the drink. Fakataha the mother, acts as chaperon. It is not polite for her to tell the young men to leave. The whole household, therefore, must remain awake and active until the men decide to leave. They may stay as late as they wish, and if they have nothing better to do, they stay until the early hours of the morning. Children crawl into corners and go to sleep. Older people in the household sleep sitting up in the *kava*-circle. In the end, only Ana the maker, her vigilant mother, and the young men may be awake.

276 415 412 The large wooden *kava*-bowl is a prized household possession. Most of those in the village have come from Fiji. Some are so worn and old that all the legs have been broken. As long as the bowl itself has not split, it is kept in use, propped up if necessary by elaborate piles of stones and pieces of wood. The stones between which the root is pounded (formerly it was chewed) are also special stones, kept for this use only. They are not shaped or modelled in any way. Two hard flat stones are all that is necessary, the base-stone as large and as flat as possible, the pounding-stone of any convenient shape that it may be gripped easily. A [426] household not possessing either bowl or pounders borrows them from a friendly household should it desire to make *kava*. They are returned promptly after use because none wants to have responsibility for an accidental breakage.

276 *Kava*-making in the village follows general Polynesian pattern.[27] The roots are crushed by a young man sitting beside the *kava*-maker. They are then placed in the bowl, water is added (generally from a nearby kerosene-tin), the crushed material saturated and squeezed and then removed from the bowl by the use of a strainer of coconut-fibre. One young man sits on either side of the maker. The boy to the

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[27] Specific procedures used in the making of *kava* for special purposes such as at times of marriage and death, are noted in other appropriate sections of this report.

276 right does the pounding. The boy on the left adds the water as required and later calls out the names of the drinkers that the cups of *kava* may be passed to them in turn.

[516] The *kava*-maker sits quietly behind her bowl when she
[784] is not making or filling cups. She keeps her hands folded.
She is not supposed to touch her head or face or to talk
[841] throughout the evening. A menstruating girl neither makes
nor drinks *kava* because of a *tapu* on cold water at this time.
[846] A woman who has given birth to a child, similarly does not
make *kava* for at least a month after the delivery.

276 574 576 The drinkers sit in a semi-circle facing the *kava*-bowl if the arrangement of the house allows this pattern. Otherwise they sit round three walls of the house, their backs against the walls, with the *kava*-maker at the fourth wall. Generally the young man at the left of the maker calls the name of the drinker. He holds a half coconut-cup over the bowl. The maker lifts the strainer and the *kava* runs into the cup. The drinker named claps his hands together twice and the cup is passed hand to hand until it reaches the drinker. The drinker may indicate that the cup is not full enough for his liking. In this case, the cup is passed back and more *kava* is added. The drinker is supposed to swallow his cupful at one breath. He passes the empty cup back along the circle of hands to be refilled for another or else spins the cup along the floor in such fashion that it comes to rest against the *kava*-bowl. Two coconut-cups are sufficient for any but the largest gathering. The drinkers wait patiently for their names to be called. If the *kava* is finished before all the names of those present are called, those uncalled are without luck. The bowl is placed aside to wait until another bowlful is made. This may be any time up to half an hour later. Meanwhile the flow of discussion is resumed until one of the older men present indicates by a nod or muttered word that it is time to make more *kava*. The wrung-out *kava* from the last bowl is used again unless it is obvious that all the strength has been washed out. Then new *kava*-root is substituted entirely or else added to the old crushed root.

276 574 576 571 There is little attempt to preserve any patterned formality in an ordinary drinking-party. An older man indicates that one of the youth should call the names for the drinking unless he asks one of the adults to do so. Names

are called in such fashion that the older men present receive 571 276
their cups first, the younger folk last. Few men in the village 574
can lay claim to the possession of a special *kava*-circle name (576)
beside their ordinary name. If they do possess such a name, (551)
however, it will always be called in the *kava*-ring, no matter how informal it may be. Three or four rounds of *kava* are generally thought sufficient for most parties. If the men are keyed up for discussion, however, round may follow round endlessly until dawn breaks or all available *kava* is used up. Youths and others not participating in the *kava*-circle crouch or squat round the outside, or else peer into the house from outside through conveniently found holes in the coconut-leaf screens. In small *kava*-parties, where there are only a few present, there is no calling of names. In larger parties cups may be passed back to men outside the circle if there is enough *kava* in the bowl to fill everyone's needs.

Participation in the *kava*-circle is in general recognized 562
as a man's privilege, his the accepted right to stroll about 276
the village in the evening, to visit, gossip, and drink *kava*. 574
Women may visit during the day. But they are supposed to finish their business quickly, smoke a cigarette perhaps, and then return home immediately. Sometimes a woman of undoubted respectability and status in the village, such as the pastor's wife, may make *kava* for a few of her friends as they discuss church affairs on the broad verandah of her house. Otherwise *kava*-drinking by a woman's *kava*-circle is looked upon slightly askance by the men. It is quite in order for a woman who happens to be part of a *kava*-circle as a chaperon or else because she is wife of the household-head, to accept *kava*. But this, according to the men, should be the limit of female participation.

For anyone who is sick, *kava* is supposed to be in some 276
way " weakening " and to retard recovery. Thus men who 751
are suffering from stomach-ache or a sore foot or eye, or boil, or more general aches and pains, refrain from drinking. One man never drinks in the month of June because he believes that in some way this is an unlucky month for him. On the other hand, for the normally-healthy person the villager thinks that occasional *kava*-drinking is conducive to better health. This may be associated with the fact that

276 751 *kava* is a mild diuretic. Villagers have plenty of opportunity to notice this effect of *kava* even if they are unclear as to any precise cause and effect relationship between this effect and alleged better health. One reason incidentally, that the [514] villager gives for the rule that the *kava*-making girl should not herself drink is that it would be unseemly for her in the eyes of the men to leave the house frequently to urinate.

276 574 521 The topics that are discussed in the ordinary *kava*-circle are endless in their repetitive rehashing. The state of the cultivations, the gossip and scandal of the village, the strange ways of white people, news and rumour from other villages far and near, actions of government representatives from policemen to high officials, chance remarks heard from passing acquaintances on the island roads, religious doctrine and dogma, dreams and strange events— all these and many other topics are considered from every possible angle and [888] point of view. The older men carry on the discussion while the younger sit quietly and listen. Sometimes the discussion will be spirited with many taking part. At other times it will die down to muttered conversations between one or two men with others dozing or preoccupied with their own thoughts or busily rolling banana leaf cigarettes from the strong and pungent Tongan tobacco. A pause in conversation comes while a fresh round of *kava* is being made. Then discussion gathers new strength. And so it goes for hours on end, sinking and rising according to the spirits of the participants and the lateness of the hour. Younger men of the village obtain from these *kava*-discussions the elements of a liberal education both in the arts and in the crafts of village life. Sometimes the group will spend part of an [533] evening singing. The songs may be either church-hymns or ancient chants.

276 733 *Kava* is a mild narcotic. Excessive drinking often leads to what can well be termed mild cases of drug-addiction. Seven men and one woman are considered in the village to be extremely heavy drinkers whose continual desire for *kava* is in the nature of an obsession. Other men drink heavily at odd times, but not continuously. The results of addiction, according to informants, are personal laziness, physical weakness and domestic trouble. Night after night spent drinking *kava* is likely to leave the addict lazy and

733
276 sleepy during the day. Instead of working in his garden,
[735] the addict spends his daylight hours asleep. Poverty and a
lack of food are characteristic of his household. Those who
[461] are recognized as the hardest workers in the village are
conspicuously those who rarely drink *kava* in the evenings
or who are content with two or three rounds only of *kava*
before going to sleep.

276 Domestic trouble arises because the drinker generally
593 deserts his household to drink elsewhere. This is illustrated
733 by the case of the heaviest drinker in the village. He drinks
kava several times daily. His own house is small and unsuitable
for *kava*-parties. It is also very close to the bush
[776] that encircles the village and close therefore to the numerous
and malevolent evil spirits *(tevolo)* that haunt the bush
after nightfall. This makes the house a dangerous place in
which to leave a wife and small children without adult male
protection. Hence the addict's wife is continually angry
because of this desertion. There have been frequent domestic
brawls and the wife has occasionally deserted her husband.
Moreover, this addict rarely works in his gardens. He leaves
[156] gardening to his aged father who is recognized as definitely
"queer" by the villagers (the father shuns company, is
[181] given to long solitary walks, talks softly to himself: the
very antithesis of the sociability-loving Tongan). Much of
[434] the money the addict obtains from his school-teaching he
[432] spends buying *kava*-root at the store. Thus the household
is poor in every respect.

276 This addict is an extreme case of *kava*-craving. Village
opinion does not of course consider the fact that he may have
733 become an addict because of certain personality difficulties
which have of themselves made his domestic life unsatisfactory.
This would be a somewhat sophisticated view for
the villager to try to comprehend. Hence he simply takes it
for granted that excessive *kava*-drinking is the cause of all
troubles. His conviction is perhaps rendered more certain
[293] by noticing the results when some of the more daring young
men have emptied a bottle of whisky into a full *kava* bowl
and then swallowed the resulting concoction. (There are
[671] very stringent, enforced laws against drinking the white
man's liquor or beer—only very occasionally could this
happen.)

276 574 571 182 [535] [178] [177] [794]

It is hard to give adequate feeling for the manifold interrelations of the *kava*-drinking circle in village life. It is to be realized that the villager has few other outlets for his sociability. Old-style Tongan dancing has practically vanished as a folk-activity. None in the village has adopted the white man's dancing. The church does not sponsor social gatherings except choir-practice meetings where opportunities for sociability are rare. The men's work takes them for the most part to their gardens by day. *Kava*-drinking provides good reason therefore for coming together during the evenings to discuss topics of common interest. In a very real sense a large village *kava*-circle is the Pangai equivalent to the New England town-meeting. It provides an outlet for social impulses and a forum in which matters of common concern may be argued. Because the composition of any *kava*-group changes materially from one night to the next, it is possible for the village to develop a uniformity of opinion and at the same time to avoid any splitting of the village into conflicting or partisan sub-groups. Four churches and four religious dogmas in a small village might [795] be a source of tension when religious belief is still a matter of life and death to the believer. There is no tendency in the village for religious differences to be significant in the formation of *kava*-groups. Hence the *kava*-circle provides a common and neutral ground where men may meet on the basis of social need and for purely social purposes.

276 574 565 184 [171] [576]

It has been evident throughout this discussion that *kava*-drinking in this commoner-village of Pangai has none of those overtones of elaborate formality and delight in social design for its own sake which are so characteristic of the *kava*-circles among the Tongan noble class and also among the chiefly class of Samoa and other islands of western Polynesia. The villager is of course aware of this formality and etiquette as practised elsewhere in Tonga.[28] He has occasionally watched in all probability, a formal *kava*-party elsewhere when nobles have met or royalty has been greeted.

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[28] The formal *kava*-circle with all its etiquette, rank-symbolism, and customs is well summarised by Gifford (*Tongan Society*, pp. 156-170). This account should be consulted to gain some idea of the many differences between the informal village *kava*-circle and the formal circle composed of those of chiefly and royal rank.

Such formality however, plays no part in this more humble 276
life. He would know how to be respectful did he suddenly 574
find himself by strange fate to be a member of an exalted 565
kava-circle. He would not know in detail, however, the 184
rigid-formality that rules the procedure whereby such a 576
party can function. In somewhat similar fashion the 000
ordinary white man may be dimly aware that strict protocol governs the formal social life of European royalty or of a President's dinner party. But in his own daily interpersonal relations, the formalities of the distant great exist only in a dream-world, not to be imitated and only occasionally to be a matter of serious discussion.

CRIME

The village seems in general to be law abiding. During 674
our visit one man was arrested and placed in jail for adultery: 684
he was living with a married woman who had run away from her husband because of mutual incompatibility. The husband, jealous of his wife's new-found happiness, laid a
complaint against the adulterer. The latter evaded the 674
police for some time by spending most of his days in the 625
bush; but the police finally arrested him one Sunday evening 684
when he was resting in his sleep-house after coming back to the village to attend church service. There was some tendency to criticise the police for what was considered a rather unsporting play on their part. Police would not bother to arrest an adulterer unless a complaint was filed against such a person, even though the offence was well-known. The authorities seem to go on the principle of what
is not complained about is not their concern. 674

Those who fall behind in annual poll-tax payments are 687
arrested and jailed in Neiafu.

The villagers have great horror of stealing, though 674
stealing itself is apparently rare. We were frequently 685
warned against leaving our belongings unguarded in the village. We left them unguarded constantly and nothing
happened to them. From many people we heard the sad story 674
of one girl who is alleged at some time or other to have 685
stolen a lead pencil. The girl is a marked character in the 558
village. When we engaged her as a housegirl without (114)
knowing this terrible past history, many shook their heads

648 to their friends." After a short silence the High Commissioner
643 said, "Will you also release the people at Tofua
798 and other places who have been deprived of their liberty
688 for years past, in some cases for no other reason than that they attended prayers at the house of a Wesleyan missionary; others who have been unjustly convicted by illegal sentences being passed upon them; and others who are in confinement upon the personal order of Mr Baker, after being duly discharged by a judge of the Tongan Supreme Court?" The king answered, "Why go on? This is a day of joy. I do not want them to be imprisoned. Let us rejoice at what has happened, and
648 let all prisoners be set free." The High Commissioner
643 explained that he had not asked for the release of
697 prisoners properly convicted of offences against the law, and that the wholesale liberation of such people might be inconvenient; but, nevertheless, every convict who had more than twelve months of his sentence to serve was turned loose upon society.

648 The king then invited his guests to drink kava in
643 another part of the house, and seated the High Commissioner
276 near himself. He asked more than once whether there was anything more that he wished done, and begged him to help his Government to keep clear of the disturbances and embarrassments into which they had been led by Mr Baker. Then one of the chiefs seated near the bowl cried out, "We, too, have something to ask. We want to break up this kava-party, that we may go out into
648 the roads and cry the good news to all the people." There
643 was a shout of applause, and the High Commissioner shook hands with the king and took leave. Except the

here and there between them. A few cable-lengths to 000
the northward of our anchorage was the spot where the 175 177
privateer Port-au-Prince was treacherously taken by Finau
Ulukalala, and on the beach opposite to us the master and
crew were murdered. The two rusty iron guns among [501]
the ballast in the hold of our schooner are part of her
armament. To this event we are indebted for a book of 114
travels that closely approaches 'Robinson Crusoe' in style 175
and surpasses it in interest. Mariner, one of the survivors,
spent scarcely four years among the people, yet his
account of the Tongans, elicited by questions put to him
by Dr Martin, leaves little to be added by later travellers.
The book so produced has become a classic: one does not
know which most to admire, Mariner's observation and
wonderful memory, or Martin's ingenuity, industry, and
pure style.[1]

As our visit to the king was to be one of state, we 643
had brought with us an old *matabule*, or master of cere- 644
monies, who landed with a root of kava to announce our 276
arrival. We followed him immediately afterwards along 574
the beach to the great native house occupied by the king.
Before we reached it we saw the old man coming down
from the unfinished church, followed by a train of his
matabules. We halted until a mat was spread under the
shade of some large trees, and his attendants formed a
kava-ring, a large oval, with the bowl facing the king.
Fatafehi then led me round outside the oval of sitting 643
men, and we took our seats on the king's left, with our 644
matabule between us and him. On my left was a white- 276 574
haired man with very bright eyes, who afterwards proved 576

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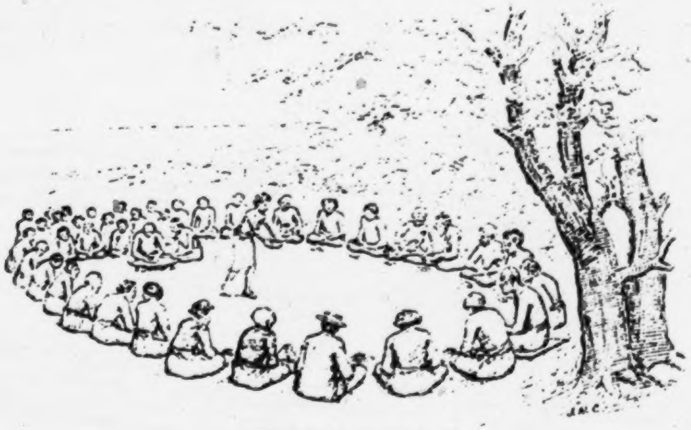
[1] Mariner's Account of the Tonga Islands.

643 to be Kaho the chief jailer, and therefore the most im-
644 portant authority after the Governor. The king sat quite
276 silent and impassive except for a nervous side glance of
574 the eyes, which would have given him a suspicious look
576 [554] if it had not been evidently involuntary. Tukuaho had
slunk off to the place of dishonour behind the bowl, where
some of the attendants were pounding the root on a flat
[554] stone that rang out melodiously. This was because his



The king's kava-ring.

father is still living, and no man in Tonga has any titular
rank or status until his father be dead. At the king's
[521] kava the circle is sacred to chiefs and the *matabules.* For
fully five minutes, while the kava was being pounded, not
a word was spoken. The thirty or forty men who composed the ring stared straight at the grass, oppressed by a
sense of decorum as rigid as the etiquette at St James'.
Suddenly, without a word of warning, our *matabule* shouted
at the top of his voice to the *matabule* on the king's right,

"*Oku lelei a Tonga*" (All is well at Tonga), and the other 643
shouted back, "*Koe!*" (Indeed). Then our voice yelled, 644
"We left Tonga yesterday with a fair wind, and arrived 276
to-day." The other barked his monosyllable, "*Koe!*" 574
After this conversation languished. I looked at the king 576
to see how he would take their flagrant breach of manners, expecting that these unmannerly vassals who talked across him at the top of their voices would receive some reproof; but he made no sign, and I was left to conclude that this mode of conversation was adopted in deference to the king's growing deafness.

The pounded root, which had fallen from the stone 643
upon a small mat, had been from time to time shot into 644
the bowl, which was now handed to a man who sat directly 276
opposite to the king with a crowd of commoners behind 574
him. He tilted it up to show the contents, and cried, "*Koe kava eni kuo tuki*" (This kava is pounded). The *matabule* on the king's right shouted, "*Palu*" (Mix), and two men came forward and sat one on each side of the bowl facing one another—the one with a fan to keep off the flies, and the other with some water-gourds. The man who presided at the bowl now rinsed his hands by pouring water over them from one of the gourds, and then squeezed the pounded root into a pyramid in the bottom of the bowl. The *matabule* now cried, "*Lingi ae vai*" (Pour in the water), and the contents of the gourds were slowly poured in, while the kava-maker kneaded the mass with both hands. Then the *matabule* cried, "*Tuku ae vai*" (Stop pouring), and the man dropped his gourds, and took up a banana-leaf to help his fellow in keeping off the flies. The *matabule* now cried, "*Ai ae fau*" (Put in the

643 strainer), and a tassel of the fibres of the yellow hibiscus,
644 in shape and size looking not unlike a deck-swab, was laid
276 floating upon the surface of the kava. The kava-maker
574 now pushed the edges of this strainer carefully down to
the bottom of the bowl, drawing it gently towards him, and bringing it up to the rim of the bowl till it overlapped the part that still floated, thus enclosing the fibres of the root in a sort of net. Then drawing the whole to the broad rim of the bowl, he folded it double, and wrung it out till the muddy fluid had slopped back into the bowl, and the strong fibres of the strainer cracked. He now handed it to his companion on the left, who shook it out and combed out the fibres with his fingers before giving it back. This process was repeated until all the fibres of the
[565] kava suspended in the fluid had been removed. These waste fibres, called *efi*, were afterwards pounded again in one of the neighbouring houses by some of the commoners.

[521] During this operation the most perfect silence was kept.
643 Three men now came into the circle carrying baskets of
644 boiled plantains, which they emptied in a heap on banana-
276 574 leaves, and, by the direction of the *matabule*, distributed
264 amongst us—two plantains each. Before eating mine I
waited to see what the others would do, but no one touched them, and before the end of the ceremony they were swept up and taken away in baskets. In Mariner's time, eighty-seven years ago, they would have been eaten: now the custom has become an empty form, and survived like the buttons on the back of the modern dress-coat.

643 The straining of the kava being now completed, the
644 man at the bowl cried, "*Kuo ma ae kava ni*" (This kava is
276 574 clear), and the *matabule* answered, "*Fakatau*" (Pour out).
576

Three or four men rose from behind the bowl and squatted 643
within the circle, each holding a polished cocoa-nut shell. 644 276
The kava-maker filled each in turn, using the strainer as 574
a sponge, and, as each shell was filled, the man holding 576
the fan cried in a peculiar long-drawn wail, "*Kava kuo heka*" (The kava is lifted), and the *matabule* replied, "*Angi maa* ——," naming the title of each recipient. As each was named he clapped his hands to show the cupbearer where he was sitting. Two of the king's *matabules* drank first, then the king, then Fatafehi, then another *matabule;* then there was a pause, for the presiding *matabule* had to ascertain my name, which, being imperfectly caught, was reproduced as "*Angi maa Tobisoni.*" After several others had drunk, the *matabule* cried, "*Mai ma'aku*" (Bring it to me), and received his own share. The distribution followed certain strict laws of precedence, which it is the *matabule's* trade to know. The first cup is given to the principal *matabule*, the second to the chief next in rank to the presiding chief, the third to the chief himself. Had Fatafehi been a visitor instead of Governor of the island, he would have received the first cup, but being regarded as a chief of the place, to whom no special compliment was necessary, he received it immediately before the king, a sure indication that he was next in rank to him. In kava-parties of less ceremony, when the kava is brewed more than once, the order is changed. At the second brew the president drinks first, and the person next to him in rank third, the *matabule* intervening.

The Tongans give a rather crude piece of folk-lore to 276
account for this custom, the opposite of that observed in 576 773
Fiji, where the chief always drinks first. They say that

276 576 773 there was a time, many years ago, when their fathers believed that the kava, growing everywhere wild in the forest, was a deadly poison. But one day a man going to his plantation saw a rat gnawing a kava-root. He waited expecting to see it die, but it ate on greedily, and at last ran off uninjured. Much excited by what he had seen, he hastened to tell the Tui Tonga, taking the gnawed root with him to bear out his statement. The chief listened to him and said, "If the rat gnawed the kava and lived, then surely is the plant not poisonous: perhaps it is even a useful medicine; let us try it." So they took shell-knives, and scraped the root, and kneaded it with water, and presented it to the Tui Tonga in a cup. But he, looking at it, said, "Perhaps this fellow lied, and the kava is poison after all: let another drink first, that we may know." And he gave the cup to the *matabule* on his left hand, bidding him drink, and the chief sat gazing at him to see if he would die; and after a while he called for another cup, and gave it to the *matabule* on his right hand, saying, "Drink, for perhaps your fellow has a stronger stomach than I, and that which harms him not may kill me." And when both had drunk and were unharmed the Tui Tonga drank the cup, and found it pleasant to the taste, and bade them gather the kava from the forest, and let him drink of it daily. Thus it became the usage of the chief to drink the third cup, after the fashion of that Tui Tonga who made a trial of it on the bodies of his *matabules*.

643 644 276 574 576 When the bowl was empty I whispered to Fatafehi that he should announce me as the bearer of a letter to the king from the High Commissioner. He passed the mes-

sage on to our *matabule*, who shouted a mangled version 643
of it across the king to the fellow sitting on his Majesty's 644
right hand. This functionary as usual shouted "*Koe!*" 276 574
to the sea-birds circling over the reef. My letter was 576
then passed to the king, who laid it down without looking
at it.

Meanwhile the second brew was being prepared, and [521]
although the formalities were sufficiently relaxed to permit
conversation, still the king stared straight before him,
speaking to no one, and seeming not to hear the conversation
which was carried on at speaking-trumpet pitch
out of compliment to his deafness. As soon as the cup [782]
had gone round again he rose without any warning, [304]
passed behind Fatafehi, and stooping over me, extended
three fingers of his right hand in welcome, not from any
motive of *hauteur*, but because the fourth finger had been
sacrificed in his old heathen days to the *manes* of a
deceased relative. Then without a word he walked off,
carrying rather than leaning on his staff for all his ninety
years, and disappeared into the long native house where
he was staying. The kava-party at once broke up and
went their several ways; and Tukuaho emerged from his
humble seat behind the bowl, and led us to a large but
ruinous house that had once been the king's palace. This 645
was to be our quarters during our visit. Fatafehi left us
here to go to Government House and attend to his
executive duties. A glance at that building—we could [344]
see it from our verandah—convinced me that whoever
may have squandered the public funds, the Governor of
Haapai was as guiltless as the Minister of Finance, whose
house I had seen in Nukualofa.

342 time to examine the three great rooms that formed our
quarters. There was a depressing air of decayed grandeur
about the worm-eaten furniture and weather-stained floor.
[353] A large room at the end became our pantry, and through
the reed screen that divided it from the rest of the house
came the incessant chatter of a Princess and two ladies
from the jail who had been told off to attend to our
517 wants. When not engaged in the menial service of wash-
521 ing dishes, they were drinking kava and retailing the
● 276 local scandal in an atmosphere reeking with the fumes of
565 *sulukus.* Lest I should seem to boast of my single experi-
592 ence of eating from the hand of a Princess of the Blood
576 574 Royal, I hasten to add that Charlotte, the lady in ques-
tion, was a member of Fatafehi's household, and since
we were his guests, it was in accordance with native
etiquette that she should take charge of the culinary
[262] department. She discharged her task admirably, and
rang the changes on fried chicken, fried sucking-pig, with
baked cocoa-nuts and raw fish[1] for dessert, in the most
practised manner.

645 After luncheon Tukuaho became gloomy. Not a soul
574 had come to greet him, and he was not accustomed to
578 unpopularity. During his last visit, he said, his arm had
been tired with shaking hands, and his digestion upset
with the quantity of kava he had been obliged to drink
with his admirers; but now he saw all his old friends
645 578 pass the door without looking in. Fat Peter's appearance

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[1] Raw fish is described by Mariner as a delicacy, and it was provided at my special request. It is cut up into lozenge-shaped pieces, and washed in salt water. When I had overcome the natural repugnance of the idea, I found it rather good. There is no valid reason why raw fish should be nastier than raw oysters, which it much resembles in taste.

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

V.

HOW I BECAME A PRIVY COUNCILLOR.

I WOKE early with the feeling that a crisis had to be gone 000
through during the day, and that we should need all our
energies. I fondly hoped that a spark of enthusiasm would
have been awakened in the breast of my colleague, and
that he would be as eager as I to have a common plan of
action laid down before our visit to the king, on which so
much depended. But to my intense disgust the kava- 276
bowl, surrounded by its ministering spirits, was in course 574
of preparation, and a precious hour was wasted. I lived
to know that to expect a Tongan chief to forego native
ceremonial in the exigencies of public business is to court
disappointment. We had time for a hurried meal when [264]
Fatafehi, clad in decent black, came to escort me to the
royal presence. He thought it better that I should see 645
the king alone before the Council, and present the precious 643
log of sandal-wood that I had brought as a present from [431]
the High Commissioner. He would stay, he said, during
the interview and interpret for me. Eight men were pro-
duced, who lifted the tree on their shoulders, and preceded
us to the native house that did duty for a palace, and,

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

796 standing, weeping aloud. The dreadful day had come,
781 and one after another the men of the place slunk out to
783 spread the dire news among their comrades in distress.
Plaudits and tears were alike suppressed: this was too serious a matter for ordinary demonstrations. A terrible and damning history fell from the lips of this penitent Phryne of the South Seas. When she had finished there was scarcely a man in the church, but the women sat and drank it all in, and many a household in Sawana dates its domestic troubles from that terrible *bolotu* when Mary "told her soul."

645 We began next day to reap the fruit of the seed
574 scattered at the *bolotu* overnight. We were haunted by
578 visitors. Our political opponents came in, each carrying
[431] in his hand the inevitable root of kava—for a Tongan
[276] making a visit of any ceremony would as soon forget his
kava as an English lady her card-case under similar cir-
[203] cumstances. They sat rubbing shoulders with the spies
from whom we knew exactly how much their new-born
[152] friendship was worth. There was, moreover, a nervous
hilarity about them that showed their sense of the awkwardness of their sudden change of front.

634 At mid-day we summoned a meeting of the Govern-
624 ment officials in the wooden court-house. There were the
[625] judge, the police magistrate, and the pound-keeper, all
malcontents; a dozen policemen and jail-warders, believed to be the same; the Treasury clerk, said to be loyal; and greater than all — the head jailer, Kaho, a
[551] dark horse whom it was important to win over. He
proved to be the white-haired, bright-eyed *matabule*, who had been my neighbour in the king's *faikava*, where he sat

VII.

MEETINGS ORDINARY AND EXTRAORDINARY.

THE politics of Tonga are a never-ending struggle between 276
the *faikava* and the *fono*. In the intervals of the solemn 521
ceremony of kava-drinking the most outrageous scandal 626
is talked, the most startling lies invented,—for kava loosens the tongue-strings without muddling the senses. Were it less cheering and more inebriating it would be politically innocuous, for it is easier to govern a nation of drunkards than a people suffering from the diseased garrulity born of the pepper-root. Kava is drunk in every village in Tonga at least once a-day. Beside the door-post in every house lie the flat and the round pounding-stones whitened with the dusty fibres; and at each gathering, failing the moral character of an absent friend, politics, or church matters—which are so interlaced with politics that they are the more dangerous of the two—are
the subject of conversation. To purify the air of the [621]
cloud of lies and miscomprehension that the *faikavas* [208]
have discharged into it, periodical *fonos* are necessary. [203]

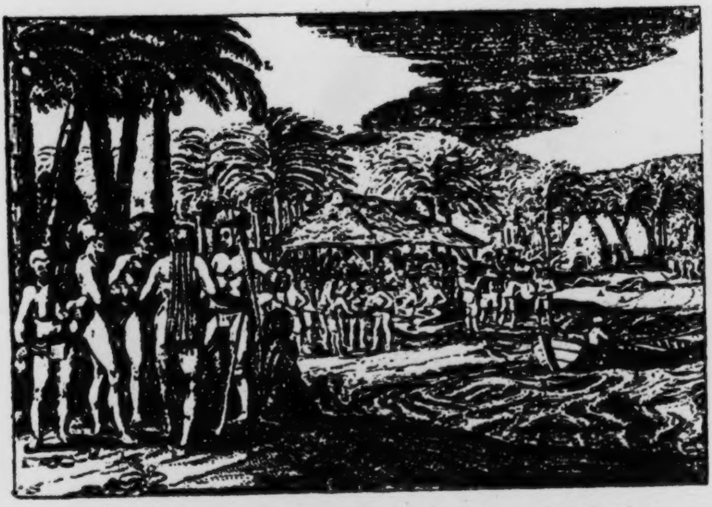
A *fono* is a compulsory meeting of the people to listen 621
to the orders of some person in authority. Before Chris- 208
203

646 found it to be a French and English dictionary. The oath taken contained the words, "I swear . . . that I will to the utmost of my power discharge my duty as a member of the Legislative Assembly"—a phrase that we had cause to remember, since a majority of the Commons held that to discharge their duty as representatives meant opposition to the Government, whether right or wrong, upon every question submitted to them.

We were anxious not to afford the Vavau contingent an opportunity for making an attack upon the Government until we had had time to win the confidence of the other members, and we therefore proposed that the duty of drafting an Address in reply should be relegated to a Committee of six, selected from the Lords and Commons
645 in equal numbers. As scarcely three members in the
646 House knew what an Address in reply was, it was at once suggested by the nominated members that the Cabinet should stay to help them, while the rest of the House
[276] adjourned. With an air of intense relief the members trooped out to smoke *sulukas* in the shade. The Select Committee conversed in knots, leaving the draft to Tukuaho and myself. My draft was couched in terms of excessive politeness, and read a little flat and colourless,—a defect due as much to my ignorance of the higher forms of the language as to my anxiety not to introduce controversial matter. It was handed to Tukuaho as a skeleton to work upon, and it came forth glorified, bristling with expressions of gratitude of which I had never dreamed.
646 It was unanimously adopted by the Committee. The Sergeant-at-Arms recalled the House by shouting to the members from the doorstep. The Address was read. At

and were repulsed with heavy loss. Thus one fact was 175
learned—the strangers could not be openly assailed with 177
safety; and the fame of Schouten's prowess, recorded in a 609
rough poem, may have served to protect his great countryman Tasman.

On January 27, 1643, Abel Tasman anchored off Hihifo


[291] [301] [302] [342] [622] [344] [276] [142] [137] [516]

Schouten and Lemaire buying provisions in Futuna, 1616, *showing ancient mode of wearing the hair.* *Vide* Appendix II. ^A
(Reduced from a rare Dutch plate in the possession of Dr Corney.)

in Tongatabu. The natives crowded on board his ships to barter provisions for iron, but beyond pilfering when unobserved, they did not annoy their visitors. A chief, probably the Tui Tonga, Tabuoji, entertained them very
hospitably, and invited them on shore. They found that 175
the country was cultivated like a garden. It was divided 177 361
by neat reed fences into plantations, within which stood [311]

A /See pp. 402-403 for explanation of picture--
^ Analyst/

175 knives, beads, and nails. We sent four of our men to be hos-
177 tages on shore, and kept some of the people in the ship. These
[481] people were very active, swam and dived with great skill, like
[343] those we met with at the other islands. There were round huts
along the beach, thatched, about 25 feet in circumference, and
12 feet in height, with a doorway. . . .

[276] [The Journal contains the earliest published description of
the drinking of kava, which coincides with the present ceremony. Peace was established, visits of ceremony paid, and
[131] cordial relations maintained. These islands lie in 14° 56′, and
were named Hoorense Eylanden = Hoorn Island or Futuna.]

SUMMARY AS TO THE PLATES REPRODUCED IN THE TEXT.

[501] Plate on p. 312 shows the meeting with a native canoe at sea,
off the islands they called Cocos (Niua-tobutabu), which lay just
out of sight to their S.W.

[501] Plate on p. 310 shows the islands in question, which they
sighted the morning after meeting with the canoe, but failed to
[131] reach until the following day—*i.e.*, Cocos and Verraders Islands:
lat. 16° 10′. Here the ship's company had a collision with the
natives. The chief's name was *Latou*.

175 Plate on p. 311. This is a plate which represents several sub-
177 jects described in the text all in one picture. The two chiefs
291 are shown twice over, and the large figures on the left are in-
301 troduced to illustrate the descriptions of various forms of head-
302 dress. The trumpeters from the ship are blowing and the
342 drummer beating, the four or five standing figures on the outside
344 of the shed, to the left of the two chiefs sitting under it, are
622 making kava, and the chiefs themselves conversing, all at once.
276 The round or conical huts to the right are introduced merely as
609 types of dwellings.
516
142
137

[1616]

Explanation of Plate on p. 311.

609 175 177

A. Meeting of the two chiefs, welcoming one another with remarkable ceremony. [622]

B. The same two chiefs sitting in state together on two mats under a thatched shed. [516] [344]

C. Our trumpeters and drummer playing before the chiefs, from which they derived great satisfaction (or took as a great compliment).

D. Commoners chewing a green root called by them kava. When it is chewed up water is added to it, and thus a drink is made from it, which is greatly esteemed by them. [276]

E. Shows the fashion of the houses. They are round and pointed, and covered with thatch. [342]

F. Shows the costume of a chief, and coiffure. [291] [301]

G G. Shows the plaits of hair worn by chiefs. [302] [622]

H. Shows an instance of frizzed hair. [142]

I. Another, whose hair stands up stiff like the bristles of a pig, more than a quarter of an ell long. [302]

K. Shows how the women wear their hair cut short. [302]

L. Are cocoa-nut palms. [137]

[APPENDIX III.

787 the inspired priest have been more than once described. Very few
793 contemporary Tongans have witnessed the performance, but I have
been fortunate enough to hear from a very intelligent elderly chief a
[154] graphic description of the inspiration of a priest which he witnessed
in his boyhood. This was in one of the last retreats of the old
[115] worship, and the wild awe of the scene, enhanced by the darkness
of night, and a double row of lights at the end of which the priest
sat, looking down a lane flanked on either hand by fire, has left an
indelible impression on the old gentleman's mind. Amongst other
787 things he noted the voracious appetite of the priest, who was a Fijian
793 of ordinary stature, but who, under the influence of the divine frenzy
154 devoured a great bunch of bananas or plantains. The native theory
[609] is that the inspiring god in some way eats the food. Another
extraordinary circumstance was the manner of his speech. Usually
[191] this Fijian spoke bad Tongan in a small weak voice, but during his
inspiration his voice was rich and full, and his utterances couched in
eloquent and faultless Tongan, "like a Belehake," as the native
idiom has it.

The appetite of the priest, to which the natives nowadays
782 sometimes make caustic reference, seems to have been a fairly constant
factor or inspiration, but presents of food, an indispensable
accompaniment of a ceremonious visit to a chief, would naturally be taken
by worshippers waiting on their god. *Kava*, always presented to a
782 chief on a ceremonial occasion, was also taken to the gods. The
276 initial rite of worship was a *kava* drinking. A ceremonial *kava* drinking
is a presentation to some person, usually the greatest chief in the
276 gathering. If a number of people pay a visit to a chief they take
574 *kava* to him, some of which will be prepared and drunk then and
565 there, though all may not share in it. The visiting party and the
chief to whom the visit is made, with his retainers, will drink together,
precedence in drinking being strictly observed in accordance with
rank, although the order is not a merely numerical one; for example,
the third bowl is very commonly the most chiefly of all, and even
further down, the fifth or seventh, etc., may take precedence of those
earlier in the list. The due ordering of these matters is one of the
things in which the chiefs' *matabules*, or gentlemen attendants, are
expected to possess expert knowledge. Another prized qualification
of a *matabule* is a full clear voice with which to call, in a kind of loud
intonation, the person to whom the bowl is to be taken, the number
of baskets of food presented, to whom the several portions are to be
taken when the distribution is made, and the like matters. The chief
to whom the *kava* drinking is a presentation is marked by his having
the most chiefly bowl, commonly, though not always, the third, taken
to him to drink, and a slight change in the words with which the
782 *matabule* calls that bowl. In the case of the *kava* drinking with which
276

a visit to a shrine commenced, the ceremony was a presentation to the 782
god, and the priest, as his representative and vehicle, had the
precedence. *Kava* is commonly drunk out of coconut-shell cups, but 276
visitors to the gods were wont, apparently, to use cups of folded
banana leaf. These are obviously more ceremonious than the 782
coconut-shells, as they were used in 1918 at the important native 276
ceremony in connection with the installation of the present Queen. I 415
obtained possession of severl of the cups used on that occasion, but
unfortunately banana leaves are not very durable, and they have
long been reduced to pieces of dried leaf, amongst which destructive
insects have begun their work.

In passing it may be remarked in connection with *kava* that 276
personal experience in Tonga has shown me nothing to justify the
epithet "intoxicating" so often applied to this root. *Kava* drinking
prolonged far into the night produces a very dull Tongan next
morning, but bad hours would be enough in itself to account for at
least a good deal of the drowsiness, and if there be a residuum directly
caused by the absorption of large quantities of *kava*, as is quite
probable, it does not seem rightly stigmatised as intoxication.
Excessive tobacco smoking would produce much the same effect, as
indeed would excess of almost any kind. Seeing how widely the
kava is termed intoxicating by competent observers in other groups, I
can only suppose that the suggestion which I have heard put forward,
that the Tongans drink the root in a more advanced stage of maturity
than the peoples of some other islands may be correct, and that the
green root has more pronounced effects.

The priest, then, duly primed with the cheerful cup, and with the 793
tangible evidence before him that the god's hunger will be satis- 787
factorily appeased, proceeds to work himself into a condition suitable
for the reception of deity. There are living to-day representatives of [157]
an old priestly family, of a highly strung nervous disposition,
exhibiting in all probability characteristics that caused their forebears
to be reverenced as channels of divine communication. A present-day [187]
member of the family has distinguished himself by intrepid and
successful missionary pioneering in the Solomon Islands.

The worshippers usually resort to the gods for information
concerning risky undertakings, such as war, and for deliverance, or
protection, from the disasters that commonly afflict our life, such as
sickness or bad seasons, caused by drought or hurricane. There 721
seems to have been no special god of war, but for guidance in this
important undertaking each tribe referred to its own god, the 787
indications of the god's pleasure being given in some instances at [776]
least by movements of the clubs or other war weapons with which the
shrine was provided. If the weapon from which the auguries were sought
refused to budge that was an indication of the god's desire for peace.

16: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1921 OU9 Tonga OU9

II.—INDIVIDUAL GODS.

776 Bulotu Katoa. Bulotu was the Tongan Paradise. As already
related its chief deity was Hikuleo, but it was the home also of spirits
[772] of the departed, evidently only of chiefs and great people, to whom
[775] perhaps some sort of worship was paid. Sometimes one hears of a
being called Tui Bulotu, i.e., King of Bulotu, but of him I have been
[114] able to learn nothing. Mariner calls him a minor god of the sea and
of voyages, and protector of Finau's family. Tuivakano, the Premier
of Tonga, suggests that some of the gods mentioned by Mariner are
[775] really the illustrious dead. In spite of the name Tui Bulotu there
does not seem any reason to disturb the sovereignty of Hikuleo in
Bulotu, home of wondrous plenty, of the life-giving water, Vai-Ola,
Water of Life, into which the spirits of the dead seem to have been
dipped to restore them to life and the power of enjoying the delights
of their paradise, and of other marvels.

Bulotu Katoa, i.e., the whole of Bulotu, was the grandiloquent
name of a great deity whose principal shrine was at Boha, in the
[361] eastern part of Tongatabu. This eastern district, though not now the
seat of the capital, is the chiefly centre of the ancient polity, the
residence of the Tui Tonga, the Tui Haatakalaua, and other great
776 lords. To Bulotu Katoa the whole of Tonga resorted, the Tui Tonga
alone staying at home. I have heard him spoken of as the god of the
643 great warrior chiefs, the Tui Kanokupolu, who in process of time and
[782] change supervening on the coming of the European have displaced
the Tui Tonga, but the real position seems rather to have been that
whoever for the time being was most powerful, whether the Tui
Kanokupolu or another chief, took the lead in national supplication to
this great god, to avert the calamities of hurricane, drought, and
776 famine. As a matter of fact Nuku, a very ancient and blue-blooded
[565] chief, was most intimately associated with the worship of Bulotu
Katoa, and two related chiefs, Tamale (the present holder of this title
[115] has given me the best information about this and many other matters;
his repute as a depository of ancient lore is probably more widely
recognised than that of any living Tongan), and Ma'olo distributed
[793] the offerings brought to the god. The name of the priest was
Takahi. When *kava* was presented to Bulotu Katoa the Tui
[276] Kanokupolu sat with the ring of outsiders at a distance from the *kava*
[574] bowl and the leaders of the ceremony.

[643] The dog was the sacred animal of this god, and during his worship
[782] a dog lay at the side of the priest. It was customary to use the word
kuli (dog) in names of Nuku's family. There is a proverbial ex-
776 pression pretty closely parallel to our English "Let sleeping dogs lie,"
which is said to have had its first application to the dog of Bulotu
825 Katoa.
[192]

foes, and it is said of priests that it is better that they themselves 776
should die than that one who has taken refuge with them should
perish. Niukapu in gratitude to his deliverer told Kautae to take his 778
pick of a piece of land, but the priest instead asked Niukapu for his 793
kava, which means that in *kava* ceremonies Kautae has the right to
demand that the cup intended for Niukapu should be brought to him. 776
This practice is not very uncommon. There is an old gentleman in the 778
island of Haano, in Haapai, who, although not a chief himself, has the 793
right to demand the *kava* of a considerable number of chiefs on the 276
ground of their descent from his family.

Taufa is both a sea and a land god. In the sea he is manifested 574
as the shark, and is called Taufa-tabi, i.e., Taufa of the Sea. On 776
land he bore the name Taufa-uta, i.e., Taufa of the Land, but had no
separate sacred animal. In fact, Taufa-tabi and Taufa-uta cannot be 825
considered as two distinct manifestations of the god. Taufa was the [778
god, his totem was the shark, and he had his shrines ashore in which
he spoke through his priest. The name most commonly applied to 793
him is Taufa-tabi. Taufa's shark seems to have been a mythical sea 187]
monster. Near Mua, the chief village in eastern Tongatabu, is a
place in the sea, where it is asserted that on calm days white mounds,
like the mounds heaped up over the graves of the dead, can be seen
beneath the water. This spot is called Taufa's cemetery, and here the
god, in the form of an exceedingly white shark, might be sometimes
seen.

Taufa was a notable protector of gardens. To secure the services 776
of the god the husbandman had simply to plait a coconut-leaf in the 241
semblance of a shark, and hang it up in his plantation. This placed
the garden under a *tabu* that none would dare to violate. It is said 776
that after the introduction of Christianity a man had the hardihood to 241
thrust his hand in mockery into one of these *tabu* signs; but the 784
moribund deity was not to be insulted with impunity, and soon afterwards
the sacrilegious violator, whilst bathing in the sea, had both
his arms bitten off by a shark. It is interesting to notice that the 776
priestly succession has been maintained to the present day, and a 793
Kautae is still regularly appointed.

Talisi Tubou is the god of the Tui Kanokupolu, whose title is now 776
assumed by the constitutional ruler of Tonga. Even before the advent of
Christianity real power was gradually passing out of the hands of the 643
Tui Tonga into those of more active lords, notably the Tui Kanokupolu,
who was in any case a very high chief. Tubou, the royal title of the [554]
Tui Kanokupolu appears in the name of the god. Kanokupolu is
itself a small village in the west of Tongatabu, but the Tui Kanokupolu 103
chieftainship has long been a much more important thing than king of 361
this little village would seem to imply, but the real moment of the
name Kanokupolu itself must doubtless be sought elsewhere. Kupolu

361 is a widely distributed Polynesian place name. As the capital of the
modern kingdom Nukualofa is of course the residence of the Tui
[103] Kanokupolu; but the connection between this chieftainship and
[644] Nukualofa is of longer standing than merely since the establishment of
Christianity. The ancient Nukualofa was much smaller than the
present town, which includes within its boundaries a number of family
groups who inhabited areas whose names and locations are still
known.

The sacred object of Taliai Tubou is a large black volcanic pebble,
778 roughly oval in shape, now in the possession of the Wesleyan College,
Nukualofa. This stone is called Tui Ahau, i.e., King of Ahau. Its
613 headquarters were probably Kolovai, the largest town in western
[778] Tongatabu, and the home of Ata, the head of the Haa Ngata (Tribe of
Ngata), to which the Tui Kanokupolu belongs. Ahio was originally
the head of this tribe, but his influence waned by a process similar to
that by which the Tui Tonga's prestige diminished.

Besides the Tui Ahau in Nukualofa there is lying on the ground
778 in Kolovai another stone of the same kind, which enjoys a sort of twin
sanctity, and is reputed to possess the power, rather unusual in a stone,
of bringing forth little pebbles. The natives who led me to see the
stone narrated this curious circumstance with perfect gravity, but
search failed to reveal any of the fruits of petrine propagation.

These stones are of a sort not found on the coral islands of the group, and were perhaps brought from one or other of the two volcanic mountains in Haapai, Tofua and Kao.

Bekebeka-a-Tama, a flying-fox god, belonging originally to Ula, a
776 *matabule* (minor chief, or rather, great gentleman-attendant of a chief)
825 of Ahau, a village near Kolovai, in western Tongatabu, but now
transferred to Ata of Kolovai. The actual god seems to be a purely
[787] mythical flying-fox, whose appearance is an omen of disaster to Ata.
Bekabeka-a-tama is distinguished from the rank and file of flying-foxes
(*beka*) by his white colour, but I know of no one who claims ever to
824 have seen him.* In Kolovai are several casuarina trees on which the
flying-foxes are protected by a *tabu*, and which are covered with the
825 rather noisome little creatures. One or two great chiefs, however,
784 have the right of shooting them on the prohibited trees. If one falls
from the trees to the ground it is free of the *tabu*, and may be picked
up and taken away. Rumour avers that the modern small boy's awe
of the *tabu* is not sufficient to deter him from trying the effect of a
825 surreptitious missile. Should the flying-foxes desert their trees Ata
must make *kava* for them and so entice them home again.
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* Ata has since told me that he has several times seen a white flying-fox, most recently within the last two or three years.

776 complete baldness, which, however, could be cured by suitable
supplications. Should any of the octopus people find one of their gods
[784 dead they gave him decent and ceremonious burial in Teekiu, their
[827 head village. With this god was connected the large cowrie shell
(*bule*), from whose movements auguries were read. The connection
[766 perhaps arises from the use of the shell in octopus-fishing, or both
[237 facts have a common origin. A cowrie-shell forms the centre of the
[787 bait, which is furnished with artificial tentacles, and somewhat
resembles an octopus. This on being lowered into the water is clasped
237 by the octopus, who is then hauled up and taken.

226 Fono-ki-tangata, the god of the chief Valu and his people in
Utulau, in the central part of Tongatabu. The "*fono*" is the food
776 served with *kava*, and "*fono ki tangata*" means to use human flesh in
276 this way. When the *kava* was presented to the god a human sacrifice
accompanied it.

782 Tui Fiji, literally king of Fiji, is the god of Haa-Vakatolo, whose
776 chief is Ahomee, a village near the eastern boundary of the western
part of Tongatabu. The sacred object of the Tui Fiji is the tree
776 called *fehi* (*vesi* in Fiji), whose hard wood was a favourite with the
makers of spears and canoes. This tree does not flourish in Tonga,
824 but there are some specimens at Haavakatolo, and it is asserted that
it is impossible to get it to grow elsewhere in the group. The *fehi*, or
vesi, flourishes in Fiji.

Tradition records that on one occasion as the Haavakatolo people
773 were about to fight a neighbouring folk Tui Fiji told them to place
between themselves and their enemies a large lump of the food
prepared by burying and fermenting certain fruits; in this case
plantain. The warriors then each ate a piece of this food. None who
had partaken of this sacramental meal was to turn aside to right or to
left, or to flee from the foe. Immunity from death or serious wound
lay in keeping straight ahead. With the dictates of caution thus
urging to bold frontal attack the braves of Haavakatolo scored a
signal victory.

Jiji and Fainga'a are two female divinities belonging to the
776 Falefa, a clan of great *matabules* attached to the Tui Tonga. An old
[773 story relates their unfortunate love for a handsome yellow-haired
Samoan named Bajikole ("Folk-Lore," Vol. XXVI.). Their sacred
776 creature is the heron (*motuku*), the dark-coloured heron being the
825 incarnation of Jiji, and the light-coloured of Fainga'a. In Tonga a
pair of herons flying together, one dark and the other light-coloured,
are called Jiji and Fainga'a. It is said that formerly a pair of herons
so differentiated was no uncommon sight, but it is rarely seen now.

Finau-tau-iku, a god whose habitat was in the eastern end of
776 Tongatabu, near the chief residence of the Tui Tonga. His priest
[793 was named Mohe-ke-fie-hua (Sleep to Jest?). He is spoken of as a

Both bride
585 and bridegroom are prepared for each other by bathing and anoint-
[515] ing with sweet-scented oil, and are clad in fine mats and cloth. On
[302] both sides pigs are killed and cooked, and all the usual preparations
[292] made for feasting. The lavishness of the feast, and the amount of
[262] cloth and mats collected, are indications of the wealth and station of
[554] the families. When all is ready the bridegroom, accompanied by a
[602] man or woman who is called his "mother" *fae*, and who must be a
member of his mother's, or his mother's mother's brother's family,
goes to the bride's home, and finds her adorned and waiting for him.
[602] She too is attended by a "mother" of her mother's, or mother's
mother's brother's family. A procession is formed. Bride and
[302] bridegroom lead, closely followed by the "mothers" bearing baskets
in which are bottles of oil, wherewith they continually anoint the
couple lest the oil dry on them. Then come the bride's female
relatives, bearing the mats and cloth which her folk have prepared
for the wedding; and last are her male kin with the food, including
a special basket called the *veifua*, distinctive of weddings and funerals,
and which is the principal food offering of the ceremony. When the
party reaches the house the "mothers" seat themselves on the dais
of mats under the shelter of greenery, and bride and bridegroom sit
on their respective "mothers'" laps. The house is filled with women
connected with the bride, no men are there, their place is with the
food, which is their especial care. Presently a woman is called from
585 the house. She approaches the bride, assists her to rise, and leads
her by the hand into the house, where the women divest her of her
clothes. The practice nowadays, whatever older custom may have
been, is for the girl to wear inner garments which are not disturbed,
but she is stripped of native cloth and mats and her wedding dress of
European material. This clothing has been provided by the bride's
family, and will subsequently fall to the share of the bridegroom's
people. She is then arrayed in clothing, inferior in quality and
quantity to that taken from her, but still good, provided by the
bridegroom, and led forth again to her "mother's" lap; but presently
another woman is called from the house to come and lead her in.
Again she is undressed, and clothed afresh in raiment given by the
husband. The clothing taken from her on this second occasion is for
the bride's people. Then she is taken out to her seat on her
"mother's" lap. If the bridegroom is wealthy the bride may be
dressed in several fresh changes, all the dresses given by the groom
[274] being gifts to the bride's family. Usually two changes suffice. Then
the *kava* is beaten up, the bowl being placed at a convenient distance
off in front of the dais. When the *kava* is ready for drinking, but
before it has been served, the husband and his "mother" rise and
go into the house, where the women undress him, putting aside his
[292] clothing for the bride's family. He is dressed again in clothes, of
[301]

good quality and including fine mats, of his own provision, and a 585 girdle of sweet-smelling leaves and flowers is put around his neck. [292] He goes out and stands midway between the *kava* bowl and the mat [301] dais, and a woman who is *fahu** on the bride's side calls the name of some important personage of the bride's father's family to go and take the bridegroom's dress. The bridegroom may either be alone, or accompanied by his "mother." The one named at once steps forth and takes immediate possession. The bridegroom then returns to the house, and when he has been garbed anew, comes once more into the space between the *kava* bowl and dais, and the *fahu* calls someone of the bride's mother's family to be the recipient of the second dress. Possession is at once taken as before. This may be repeated twice more, the third set of clothes going to the bride's father's, and the fourth to the bride's mother's family, but as a rule the first and second presentations are sufficient. The bridegroom finally comes forth from the house garbed in raiment which the *fahu* subsequently claims for herself, but which is meanwhile worn by the groom. This dress is called the dress for serving *kava*. The *kava* is now served, 585 276 the bridegroom taking the cups round, whilst the bride sits under the canopy, and has presented to her the third, the chief, cup. She is the chief on this occasion. The food distributed with the *kava* is the [262] largest pig in the baskets brought by the bridegroom's family, and the back, the chiefly portion, is laid before the bride. As in other [264] *kava* ceremonial the food is not eaten by those to whom it is presented, but is borne off by certain people who are *fahu* to the several recipients.

After the *kava* has been drunk the food is distributed, that pro- 585 vided by the bride's people amongst the groom's family, and that given by the man amongst the bride's folk. Similarly the mats and cloth are exchanged between the families. The bridegroom has nominally the disposal of that given by the bride's relatives, and the bride of the presentations of her husband's folk, but very little of it will fall to their share. The distribution will probably not be made on the day of the wedding feast, but at some convenient time a little later. Meanwhile the mats and cloth given by the man's party are taken home by the bride's parents, and kept till she can go and attend to their disposal. Amongst regular wedding gifts are candlenuts and towels of native cloth, which are presented to both bride and bridegroom several days before the ceremony, to serve them in their preparatory ablutions. Candlenuts are ground in the mouth, [515] and used as a detergent. There is no obligation to use these gifts

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* The *fahu* is extremely important in Tongan society. It is a relative who [593] has wide rights and authority over a man, namely his sister, or his father's sister, [604] or their children.

Charlotte Tupou who ascended the throne in 1918 following 643
the death of her father, King George II. Tupou. The present [175]
ruler is from a line of chiefs that sprang into prominence in
the 17th century as lords of the western portion of Tongatapu Island. The installation of each chief of this line in the office of Tui Kanokupolu (which title the present ruler of all Tonga still bears) took place under an ancient koka tree *(Bischoffia javanica)* against which the nominee sat. The new situation has been met by inlaying the back of the modern throne with a piece of wood from the installation tree.

At the coronation of Queen Charlotte Tupou in 1918,
both European and Tongan ceremonies were conducted. The [276]
essence of the latter was the calling of the monarch's new
title when kava, the ceremonial beverage of Polynesia, was served. One of the names assumed by the modern Christian Tongan monarchs is Taliai Tupou*, the name of the patron deity of their forefathers.

Anciently the greatest honours were paid to the Tui Tonga, the highest of the Tongan chiefs and reputed descendant of the sky-god Tangaloa Eitumatupua. The office of Tui Tonga has not been filled since the death of Laufilitonga, the last incumbent, in 1865. The honours accorded him were transferred to the reigning Tui Kanokupolu, George I. Tupou. who thus became supreme ruler of Tonga.

The last Tui Tonga died a Roman Catholic. His old 643
capital is to-day a stronghold of Catholicism and the chief 795
who is heir to the office of Tui Tonga is a Catholic. To the
Catholic Tongans the Pope is the Tui Tapu or Sacred King. 795

The head of the Free Church of Tonga, the aged Reverend J. B. Watkins, is the object of much respect and reverence. When the writer was on the island of Lifuka, in Haapai, the middle province of Tonga, in 1920, Mr. Watkins came there while engaged in his annual tour of the kingdom. At the beach a delegation of black-frocked Tongan ministers lifted him, boat and all, from the water and carried him inland. For two days people streamed to the erstwhile residence of Mr. Watkins with offerings of food. I say " offerings " instead of " presents " because that term seems better

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* Tupou, not Taliai Tupou, is the royal name, and seems to be ancient as a name of the Tui Kanokupolu.—Ed.

new religion has resulted in the development of a numerous 177 571
native clergy who vie with the chiefs in the amount of 565
influence they wield. It seems unlikely that the ancient [793]
heathen priesthood was anywhere near so powerful a social
factor as the modern clergy. The police, too, constitute a [625]
new factor in Tongan society.

Although the power of the chiefs is much diminished, 565
nevertheless Tongan written law recognises their superior 554
status. A commoner may not appear before a chief of 178
rank without wearing a ragged mat about his waist. The
situation has been somewhat ameliorated in recent years 565
by making a belt a legal substitute for the ragged mat. In 576
travelling with the Governor of Haapai, I noted that all 292
individuals, even chiefs of rank, wore ragged mats in his [634]
presence, for he was the viceroy of the Queen and as such
entitled to the respect of all, no matter how exalted their
station.

Umbrellas must be lowered and neither turbans nor 565
lime worn on the head in the presence of chiefs. I knew 576
of one chief who horse-whipped two young men for smoking [689]
cigarettes as they passed his house. This is obviously a [276]
new form of disrespect resulting from the introduction of [177]
tobacco. Commoners on horseback dismount in passing a
chief on foot. Anciently commoners are said to have
crouched by the roadside while a chief was passing. No
one rides in front of the queen's palace; he leads his horse.
As automobiles become commoner among the Tongans it
will be of interest to see what scheme is adopted for showing
proper reverence for chiefly blood. The freedom which 565
chiefs formerly showed with regard to the young women 178
among their dependents seems to have waned very appreciably.
Lastly, I have heard it whispered that chiefs are [696]
never brought to book in the modern courts of law.

Formerly, under the old feudal tenure of Tonga, people 423
furnished produce to their chiefs or landlords, more especially 427
first fruits and the first catch of certain fishes. To-day, 178
although these may be voluntarily furnished, the chief 651
obligation of the tenant is to pay his annual rental (one
dollar a year for eight and one-quarter acres) to his landlord.
In many cases the landlord is now the government, [643]
the lands formerly held by the Tui Kanokupolu having been
turned over to the government and a salary accepted by the
Tui Kanokupolu, as monarch, in lieu of rentals.

Native grown tobacco is smoked in Tonga rolled in 276
pieces of dried banana leaf. These cigarettes seem to be
relished more than imported ready-made cigarettes. Tongan 276
school children are thoroughly grounded in the fact 829
that smoking is an American-Indian invention. Its transmission
to Tonga and the rest of the world they associate
with the name of Christopher Columbus.

Not every foreign trait in modern Tongan culture has 177
been absorbed with as little harm as tobacco. Cricket is 177
one in point. With such fervor was cricket playing undertaken 526
that it became necessary some decades ago to pass
laws restricting the playing of the game to certain days of
the week.

Horse racing, too, is a favourite pastime and even some 541
remote islands now have race courses.

The dynamiting of fish became so prevalent some years 226
ago that it was necessary to prohibit the use of the explosive 178
for this purpose. Fishing has fallen somewhat into abeyance [439]
in certain localities and it is not uncommon for Tongans to
buy fish from enterprising Japanese and Caucasian fishermen. 177

The introduction of cloth has given rise to two new 296
feminine occupations: sewing, often with a machine; and [462]
washing. Tapa, the native substitute for cloth, is unwashable. 291
Clothes washing was given a further impulse by the
enactment of a law compelling all individuals to wear shirts [656]
in public. The lower garment is still the vala or rectangular
cloth worn as a skirt. To-day it is of textile material. Shoes
are not worn except by the well-to-do.

The police costume is of interest; barefeet, white vala, 625
blue or white coat, and broad-brimmed felt hat. 292

Speaking of the vala or rectangular cloth wound about 291
the waist as a skirt, it should be noted that the proper
length for a gentleman is half-way between the knee and
ankle. Shorter valas are worn by cooks. In Samoa valas
are worn short. I once heard a Tongan chief remark derisively 186
of the Samoans that "they wear their valas like
cooks." I have also heard the Samoans spoken of as barbarians [514]
because they have no water closets, which in Tonga [656]
are required by law.

Tongans eat with their fingers seated cross-legged on 264
mats with the food before them on other mats. Europeans

at Tongan feasts do the same. The combination of European 264
dress and fingers for knives, forks and spoons seems
strikingly incongruous to one new to the custom. At the
end of the meal a basin of water is passed around, so that
each one may wasn his hands.

Perfumes are much appreciated by the Tongans and 302
traders say that they discriminate between the cheaper and
the better grades. This is clearly but a transferal of their [178]
old interest in perfumed coconut oil, with which they still
freely anoint themselves.

European alcoholic drinks are called kava papalangi 273
(foreign kava). They are permitted only to the land-holding [656]
chiefs, in a limited quantity, and to foreigners. Commoners [565]
must go without.

Stone, bone, and shell implements have been supplanted 177
long since by metal implements. Contact with Euro-American [41]
culture has resulted, however, in the rise of a new
stone implement. This is the slab of stone and the stone [415]
pounder for preparing kava root. Formerly this was chewed [276]
to prepare the brew; now, owing to Caucasian influence, it
is pounded.

The former narrow roads that traversed the various 491
Tongan islands have now all been replaced by roads of 178
standard width for wheeled vehicles. The commonest vehicle 493
is a two-wheeled cart imported from New Zealand. The [439]
Tongan usually dispenses with the board seat and sits cross-legged
on the bed of the cart. In the two large islands of
Tongatabu and Vavau automobiles have made their appearance.
They are the more numerous in the former island
where the levelness of the country makes for ease in driving.
The majority of cars are driven by Caucasians, but the Tongans [177]
are fast learning. Many Tongans have been familiar 501
for years with gasoline launches.

Vehicles keep to the left in Tonga. 494

Many Tongan houses show a hybridism in construction. 342
Often the roof will be of corrugated iron instead of the regular
thatch. Or again, the sides and rounded ends will be 177
of boards instead of cane. These innovations usually do not
affect the shape of the house. Many churches are in native 346
architecture, which employs sinnet cord instead of nails. 178

Appreciation of money is naturally developing in Tonga 177
and is undoubtedly an important factor in the process of 436
acculturation. National feeling, though probably existent 186
178

to go near, in order to stare, or to walk about. 643 To prevent such conduct, a Fijian, dressed, and blackened, according to the custom of his country, walked to and fro as the guard of the ceremony, armed with club and spear. The day was very fine, and the gathering of the noted politicians and warriors of the land, under the magnificent trees, which have stood for ages on the sward of Bagai, presented a most interesting sight.

The ceremony consisted simply in publicly calling out the future official title of the king, in a *kava*-meeting; that is to say, a meeting where a preparation of kava-root is diluted and drunk by the persons assembled, according to certain well-established rules of etiquette and precedence. 643 276 574

Two chiefs sat, one on either side of the king elect. These were two of the *matuas*, or "fathers" of the land. Their office was to relieve the king, and to act on his behalf. The names of the officiating chiefs were Motua-buaka and Lauaki. The others ranged themselves on either side, in order of rank, and forming a large circle, outside of which, and in front of the king, the bulk of the commoners were seated. The kava being prepared, several chiefs addressed the assembly, before it was served out. Afterwards Motua-buaka delivered an oration explaining the important object of their assembling. The king then addressed them also. Immediately he had finished, his kava was poured into a dish; and then Motua-buaka proclaimed aloud that that was the kava of Taliai-Tubou Tuikanokubolu. [565] [537)

When all was over, the king, and most of the company, adjourned to the house of God, where portions of Scripture, suitable to the august occasion, 643

The deliberative assemblies of the chiefs were 565
very stately affairs. Each sat in a circle, arranged 623
according to the rank and precedence of those who [554]
composed it, where speeches were made by the [276]
authorized orators, and by some of the leading
chiefs; after which, the ceremony of kava-drinking
would be proceeded with. These meetings would [576]
often extend over several hours; and every part of
the proceedings was governed and conducted according
to well-known and rigid laws of etiquette.
From these assemblies the knowledge of new
enactments, or the arrangements adopted for any
projects entertained by the chiefs, was circulated
among the people at large by the *Matabules*.

We now pass on to a brief consideration of the 128
knowledge of the Tonguese, as developed in their
arts, manufactures, and customs. In estimating 135
these, however, the fact must not be overlooked,
that as their land yielded no metals, and but few
minerals, the resources of the islands, for the production
of manufactures, were extremely limited.
Indeed, it may be asserted that they carried civilization, 181
in this point, to the full extent of their feeble
means. The credit must be awarded them, of displaying
no small amount of ingenuity and skill in
what they produced.

The warlike weapons of the Tonguese were few 411
and simple. They consisted of spears, javelins, and
clubs, made from various kinds of hard and heavy
wood, capable of taking a high polish. In their
hands, these were most effective weapons. They
were also very clever in the use of bows and
arrows, and slings. Defensive armour was seldom [714]
employed; and great ingenuity was displayed in
painting and decorating the person, in preparation
for an expected contest.

797 be accompanied by a French priest, with whom he
798 should be put on shore on some one of the nume-
rous out-islands surrounding Vavau. To all this
Matekitoga agreed; but, as he could not carry out
his purpose without the consent of the chief in
command of the canoe, he went to him about mid-
night, and tried his utmost to persuade him to take
him on board. The chief, however, would not
listen, on any terms, to the jesuitical proposal, but
sailed next day for Haabai, where he waited upon
the king with information of the whole affair. A
643 few weeks afterwards, King George sailed, with his
798 principal chiefs, from Haabai to Mua. Having
797 sent for the priest, he was charged with the attempt
to send back a banished criminal, and with stirring
up rebellion against the king's authority, which
charges were supported by the necessary proof.
The king then handed the priest a copy of the har-
bour regulations, and laws of the country, stating
that if these were violated, either by priests or any
other foreigners residing in the islands, they would
be dealt with according to the law.

797 In September, 1851, a Roman Catholic chief
arrived from Fiji, with a Frenchman, the lay
648 brother of a priest at Lakemba. This chief, whose
name was Sovea, had been long expected in Tonga,
in consequence of his frequent boastings at Fiji, that
he would establish Popery in Nukualofa, his native
place. He had more than once tried to reach Tonga,
but the winds were adverse, and he was on each
occasion compelled to return to Lakemba. At
length his object was gained, so far as to reach
Tonga in safety. On arriving, he did not go to the
[643] king, with the accustomed tribute of *kava*, or to
[651] do homage; but, he and the Frenchman attempted
[276]

to unload the canoe at midnight, and stealthily to 797
effect a landing. A watch, however, was kept, and 648
just as the goods and bedding of the Frenchman 643
were coming on shore, the king himself interrupted [651]
the proceeding, and ordered both the offenders [276]
to appear before him in the morning. When they did so, the king forbad the residence of the Frenchman in Nukualofa; and he also told Sovea that, if he ever resided in the town, he should not be allowed to erect a Popish chapel. After this, the canoe sailed to Bea; from whence Sovea and the French lay-brother effected an entrance into Houma, where Vaca gave them a location.

We have now brought these general statements 128
to a point from which we may carry on the narrative, by transcribing a few extracts from our Missionary Journal. These will afford a sufficiently clear insight to the progress of events:—

Hihifo, Sunday, January 11th, 1852.—The re- 797
turn of my natal day. All glory be to God, who has preserved me hitherto from many dangers, in
these "ends of the earth." I rode to Nukunuku, [763]
and reached the teacher's house just as the cold hand of death was laid upon one of his children. Barnabas had, only recently, lost his wife, who died happy in the Lord; and, as the decease of this child was quite unexpected, it was a time of deep feeling and solemnity. After preaching there, I rode to Teekiu, where I preached again, and met the Society. I then rode home to Hihifo, in time to preach there also in the afternoon.

Monday, 12th.—Rode to Nukunuku, accompanied by Mr. Webb, where we interred the teacher's child. We then visited Fatai. Mr. Webb

ing merrily, and shouts of triumph rent the air, to 798
the great dismay of the enemy in Bea, who had 669
received intelligence of the fall of Houma. The 728
loyal troops were drawn up in two long lines, extending from the spot where the king and his chief men were seated, to the road by which the Houman chiefs were expected to approach.

At mid-day, Vaca and Fohe, accompanied by
several younger chiefs, approached the king. They
were clothed in old mats and tattered garments, [291]
with the usual garlands of *ifi* leaves round their [301]
necks, expressive of deep humiliation, and of
expected punishment. They walked slowly along [516]
between the lines of armed men, in charge of a guard; but, when within a short distance of the king, they seemed overpowered by their fears, and placed themselves in the most submissive attitude, with hands clasped before them, and heads bent down toward the ground. Notwithstanding the promise of safety which they had received, they appeared to expect that the signal for death might be given at any moment. In the midst, however, of profound silence, the king's herald proclaimed that it was his pleasure that the prisoners should put off the *ifi* leaves from their necks, that being the signal that they had obtained
mercy. *Kava* was then prepared, and the rebel [276]
chiefs were commanded to assume their accustomed place of rank in the circle of chiefs. This was an additional and most unexpected evidence of the king's clemency. That their lives should have been spared was a great boon; but that their rank should be continued was more than they could have expected, or could have felt that they deserved.

After the ceremony was over, the king ordered

24: Rugby-Pratt M-3 (1922) 1922 OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau

A *KAVA* CEREMONY IN TONGA.

By the Rev. M. A. Rugby Pratt.

114 [The writings of W. H. R. Rivers and others have raised the *kava* complex to a position of theoretical importance in the study of Polynesian ethnology. The following very detailed account of the ceremonial preparation of *kava* in the 276 Tongan Group is, therefore, of great interest. Such a ceremonial as is here recorded is now rare in those islands, and many members of modern *kava* parties 574 scarcely know the right positions to take up, much less the details of the [178] ceremonial.—Editor.]

THE ceremonial way of making *kava* is called *milolua*, a word that is also employed to describe one method of straining, or 122 "clearing" the *kava*. The fact that on two occasions the full ceremony was carried through for my benefit was due to the circum- 123 stance that I was the guest of the Rev. J. B. Watkin, who, for fifty-six years has laboured as a missionary in the Friendly Islands, and won the fullest confidence and love of the Tongan people.

123 On the morning of Thursday, August 17th, 1922, accompanied by [114] my host and the Native minister from Neiafu, the Rev. Paula Fonua, I set out from Neiafu, the capital of Vavau, for the village of Haalaufuli, some eight miles distant. Some two miles before reaching Haalaufuli we were met by a small cavalcade, and the horsemen escorted us to the village. Here we were received at the Mission House, and, having seated ourselves on the *lotoa*, or verandah, a dried *kava* root was laid at our feet, and a small offering of food was presented to us for some visitors who had followed us from Neiafu. This over, Mr. Watkin and I stepped into the Mission House and sat at a table laden with roast chicken, boiled chicken, curried chicken, fried chicken, roast sucking pig, and a profusion of fruit, vegetables and other good things. The only detail that I need mention is that we began the meal with a drink of hot coconut milk, that was served in cups made from folded banana leaf, a beverage that is heated in the *umu*, or oven of hot stones, and which, when poured into the green banana-leaf cup extracts from the cup some essential properties which produce a delightfully cool sensation in mouth and throat.

The meal over, we again repaired to the *lotoa* to be garlanded with exquisitely made floral *sisi*, to hear words of welcome, to hold a levee and to receive the customary gifts. There were two presentations. The first was a *koloa*, or presentation of goods, which included native mats, *tapa* cloth, coconut oil, necklaces made of *hano*, *lopa* and

[p. 198]

sialemohemohe seeds, and also a few fans. The second was a *kaitunu* or food presentation. 123 Included in this latter were six great green *kava* roots, nine roast pigs borne on *pola* or litters, scores of baskets of fruit and vegetables, bunches of the prized *tuokava* or chiefly coconuts, many fowls, and a quantity of *ai* nuts, not unlike almonds, that were both in baskets and threaded on the stripped ribs of fronds of the coconut palm. The gifts in the second presentation were arranged in orderly rows on the *malae*. These were duly counted by representatives of the 276 villages, who seated themselves behind the company and announced 574 the number of each sort of gift. The food was then removed from the *malae*, or assembly ground, saving that five roast pigs were placed 123 in order in front of the *lotoa*. Behind these pigs a party of natives [516] seated themselves with crossed legs, beneath the shade of an *ovava* tree, the sacred tree of Tonga. The chiefs and some distinguished folks were ranged at the feet of Mr. Watkin and myself on the *lotoa*, we two alone being accommodated with chairs.

In the centre of the group, on the *malae*, a woven mat was placed 276 over a plaited coconut *pola*. On either side of the mat sat two men, 574 called *hagai kava*, facing the *lotoa*. Beside each was a large, smooth [412] volcanic stone, and in the right hand of each a smaller volcanic stone. These stones, valuable for their hardness, are brought from the island of Tofua. A green *kava* root was produced, the upper shoots, resembling bamboo sticks, were discarded, and the root itself was scraped and rubbed clean, and then passed to the *hagai kava*. Ordinarily the dried and not the green *kava* root is used for making the beverage. Next a native advanced bearing a *kumete kava* or *kava* bowl, set on four short legs. Before being put in position between the *hagai kava*, it was turned to the guests of honour, with the legs and bottom facing us. The *hagai kava* quickly pounded the root with the hard volcanic stones, the crushed pieces falling upon the mat. When the crushing was complete the broken fragments were put in the *kumete kava*, behind which a handsome woman, the *gaahi kava*, or *kava* maker, now seated herself. In more ancient days the practice was 276 for the crushed root to be distributed amongst the young folks who 574 possessed the whitest teeth, and who, when they had masticated the 178 chips, discharged the contents of their mouths on to a plantain leaf, whence it was transferred to the *kava* bowl. This unhygienic method is now discarded.

The *gaahi kava* with graceful sweeps and curves of arms and hands 276 and body, all movements of symbolic import, began to mix the root 574 and to extract its essence, the while the two *hagai kava* simultaneously poured water slowly from two buckets into the bowl. When she had [415] made the liquor of sufficient strength, a strainer, which was simply a bunch of fibre or *fau*, was brought and spread by the *gaahi kava* on top

276 of the "brew." In this strainer the *kava* maker, with graceful move-
574 ments, carefully gathered the "chips" out of the liquor, winding the
415 fibre around them and wringing from it the last drops of fluid, as she
did so, gradually raising the strainer until it was stretched like a rope
above her head. Holding it there for a few moments she suddenly,
276 and quick as a flash, without so much as a glance backward, flung the
574 mass into the lap of a man behind, and, exhausted by her strenuous
exercises, brought her arms to rest, with hands outstretched and palms
uppermost on the outer edge of the *kumete kava.* The man who
received the bunch of strainings, at once shook them out on a mat in
front of him and began dividing the *fau* into two parts.

At the same moment a party of men advanced and with ceremonial dignity bore away the five roast pigs that had been left between us and the *kava* makers. The division of the *fau* being completed one part was returned to the *gaahi kava*, who, with pretty movements gathered into it any dregs or fibrous particles that still remained in the liquor. When the fluid was "cleared" the strainer was exchanged for the rest of the *fau.* This was placed in a bunch on the front lip of the bowl, and then, announcing that the *kava* was ready, the woman brought her arms once again, with open, upturned palms, to rest on the outer lips of the bowl.

[415] Three cup-bearers, called *fakatau kava*, now stepped forward, each holding an *eibu* or cup, fashioned from a coconut shell. The master of ceremonies, who was close to me on the *lotoa*, and who is called the *tufa kava*, gave orders to proceed. One of the cupb-earers advanced to the *gaahi kava* and she saturated the *fau* with the liquor and squeezed a cupful into the *eibu.* The bearer advanced some seven paces and stood still, facing the guests of honour. One of the party called the *ui kava*, or crier, "intoned" with a very prolonged note on the last syllable but one, the announcement "*Kava kua heka,*" indicatihg in this way that the cup was filled. Thh *tufa kava* named the person to whom it was to be presented. This person at once intimated to the cup-bearer that he was the individual named, by clapping the hands together once and saying the word "*koau,*" which is simply the first personal pronoun. The bearer, holding the *eibu* in both hands, advanced with stately step, and with ceremonious politeness presented the cup, holding it as low as he could, in token of respect. The person honoured took the *eibu* in both hands, and quaffed its contents, or if he preferred, merely sampled the *kava*, and then returned the cup.

Cup-bearer number two then had his *eibu* filled by the *gaahi kava* squeezing the saturated *fau.* He advanced, as had his predecessor, a few paces and stood still awaiting a command. The *ui kava* intoned his announcement that the *eibu* was filled, the *tufa kava* called a name, the hand-clapping and drinking followed, and so the ceremony proceeded until some forty persons had been honoured and the *kava* was

276 exhausted. The *gaahi kava* wiped the bowl clean with her bunch of
574 *fau* and again brought her arms to rest on either side edge of the
bowl. A member of the party now advanced, lifted the bowl, and
holding its inner surface towards the guests of honour, slapped it on
[123] its under side and bore it from the scene. The whole *kava* ceremony
thus described in detail, occupied less than forty minutes, and was
followed by a dinner from the food that had ceremonially been
presented to me.

533 After the dinner the whole company marched in procession to the
beautiful Free Church building. Here some seven choirs, drawn from
the five villages of Haalaufuli, Hologa, Houma, Taanea and Magia
united in a *hiva*, or song service. Fourteen anthems were rendered,
two by each choir. The singing was a revelation, and was without any
instrumental accompaniment, and without the aid of the printed score,
or any printed word. Most of the selections were by native composers,
and these showed considerable merit. Two selections, however, were
quite familiar. They were the "Hallelujah Chorus" from Handel's
"Messiah," and "Glorious is Thy Name."

622 One of the chiefs present at these celebrations was a Native doctor,
Mr. George Kubu, who is uncle of Queen Salote, and a brother of the
123 late Queen Lavinia, of Tonga. Two days later I visited his village
122 of Hologa, and he, having noted my interest in the *milolua*, or *kava*
ceremony, had arranged for its repetition in my honour. At this
276 second ceremony, which was preceded by the singing of an ode of
574 welcome, that had been originally composed and sung to welcome to
533 Hologa, the late King George Tubou II. several years ago, the whole
party was seated under a *balebale nofoaga*, or shelter, that had been
276 temporarily erected on the *malae*. The ceremony was the introduction
574 to a feast, and it differed from the previous *milolua* in the fact that the
kava maker was a man, and the cup-bearers were women. On
[123] numerous occasions I saw *kava* made with as little ceremony and as
much haste as possible, and count myself favoured to have witnessed
a ceremony that few are now privileged to see.

KAVA CEREMONIAL IN TONGA.

By E. E. V. Collocott.

THE comparative stability of ritual in the midst of 276
changing opinions and interpretations has been often 574
noted, and the ritual of *kava*-drinking at an important 178
ceremony is doubtless the same to-day in essentials as it was a century or more ago, before the tide of European innovation had flowed over the Tongan Group.

The ceremoniousness with which *kava* is drunk varies, 276
naturally, with circumstances; but even a little party of 574
friends observes a fairly strict etiquette round a social bowl, 576
and, on the other hand, important occasions, when king and great chiefs are present, have not all the same pomp.

The ruling house in Tonga is that of the Tu'i Kanokupolu. 643
The titles of Tu'i Tonga and Tu'i Ha'a-takalaua are no longer conferred.[1] Some, at least, of the prerogatives of the Tu'i Tonga were transferred to the Tu'i Kanokupolu, George Tupou I., on the death of the last Tu'i Tonga, Laufilitonga, in 1865. Since this date the Tu'i Kanokupolu has
enjoyed an undisputed supremacy. Inter-marriage has preserved [644]
the blood of the Tu'i Tonga in full stream in the [582]
veins of the present ruling house. George Tupou I., in a speech to his Parliament in 1875, said that the titles of Tu'i Tonga and Tu'i Ha'a-takalaua had both been conferred by the chiefs upon himself, and he appointed two heads of these houses, Kalaniuvalu of the Tu'i Tonga house, and Tungi of the Ha'a-takalaua. These headships were made hereditary, but the ancient titles of Tu'i Tonga and Tu'i Ha'a-takalaua have not been conferred upon their holders.

A Tu'i Tonga's *kava*-ring is a thing of the past, and 642
although a good deal may still be gathered about points in 276
which it differs from that of the Tu'i Kanokupolu, which 574
may be observed to-day, it would probably be impossible to reconstruct it in detail.

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[1] See *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. 33, No. 3, pp. 166-184.

25: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1927 OU9 Tonga OU9

THE TU'I KANOKUPOLU'S KAVA-RING.

276 I have been an onlooker on several occasions when the
574 present Queen, Her Majesty Queen Salote Tupou, has drunk
643 *kava* with her chiefs, including that of her installation as
123 queen, and am, moreover, greatly indebted to Ata, the chief
115 whose duty it is to see that the ritual is properly carried
643 out, for information he has given me. The Tu'i Kanokupolu
613 is the head of the Ha'a Ngata, the House of Ngata, and
565 in the full gathering are chiefs of the Ha'a Ngata, the Ha'a
554 Havea, an offshoot of the Ha'a Ngata, the Ha'a Latuhifo,
who are of the blood of the Tu'i Tonga, the Ha'a Vaea,
which is called a representative name, *hingoa fakafofonga*,
of the Tu'i Ha'a-takalaua, and whose chief is Luani. There
was a Tu'i Ha'a-takalaua named Vaea, and this house is
perhaps descended from him. There are also two houses
which are junior branches of the Ha'a Ngata, the Ha'a
Ma'afu, and the Ha'a Ngata tupu, derivative Ha'a Ngata.
This latter is comparatively recent, and its prominence
dates from the Finau of Mariner's account. Finau, whom
Mariner wrongly regards as the king of the group, was
613 the head of this junior branch. It is difficult to give the
word *ha'a* precision of meaning as tribe, clan, or house.
[575] Besides its application to the noble houses it is applied to
other associations of people joined together by community
of interest, blood, or occupation. However, its application
to the great noble houses, each including several titled
chiefs, is well understood.

276 The following diagram illustrates the structure of the
574 *kava*-ring, and the principal positions in it—
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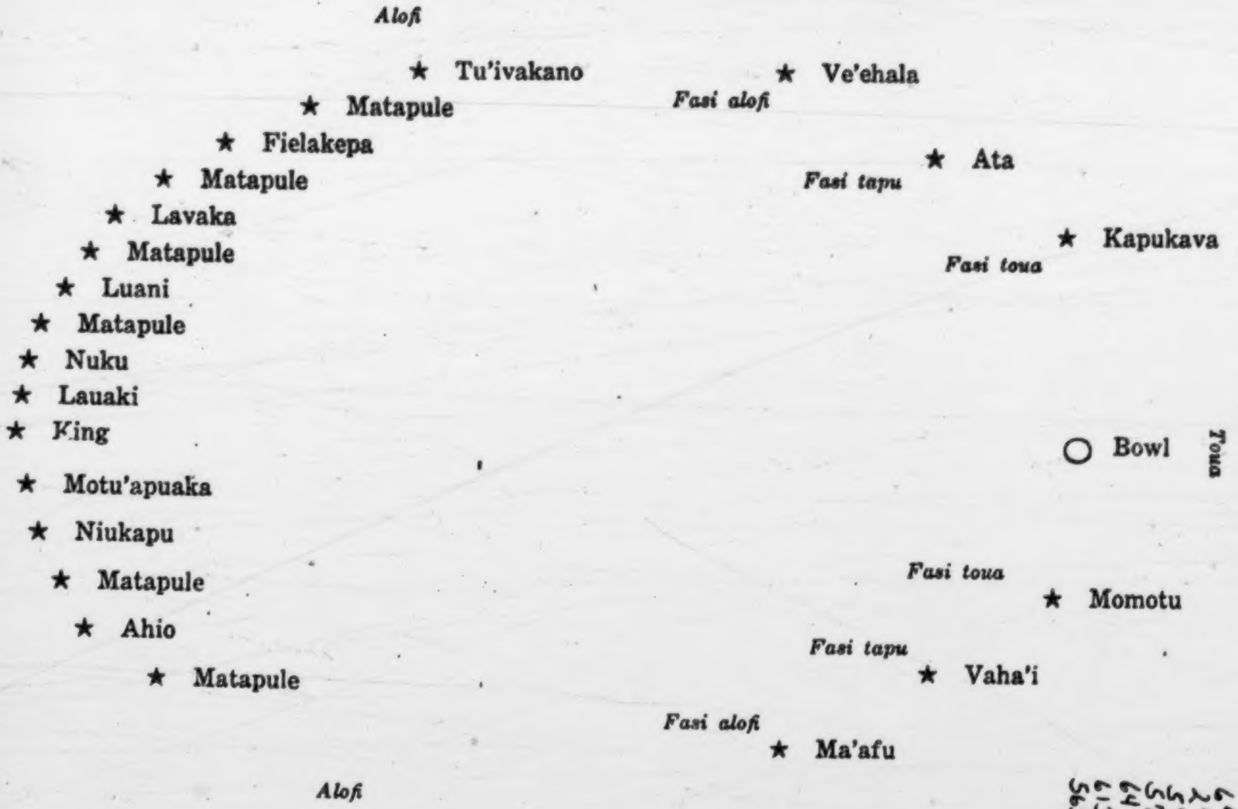
STRUCTURE OF KAVA-RING.


Alofi
★ Tu'ivakano
★ Matapule
★ Fielakepa
★ Matapule
★ Lavaka
★ Matapule
★ Luani
★ Matapule
★ Nuku
★ Lauaki
★ King
★ Motu'apuaka
★ Niukapu
★ Matapule
★ Ahio
★ Matapule
Alofi
★ Ve'ehala
Fasi alofi
★ Ata
Fasi tapu
★ Kapukava
Fasi toua
○ Bowl
Toua
Fasi toua
★ Momotu
Fasi tapu
★ Vaha'i
Fasi alofi
★ Ma'afu

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574
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613
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276 The ring is elliptical; at one end of the long diameter sits
574 the king, and at the other is the bowl in which the drink
576 is mixed, and from which it is served. On the right and
643 left of the king are his two *matapule*, whom Mr. Hocart
644 calls heralds, Motu'apuaka and Lauaki.[2] To the right of Motu'apuaka sits Niukapu, and to the left of Lauaki is Nuku. The Tu'i Kanokupolu, Niukapu and Nuku are called
643 the *Ulutolu*, Three-head. These three are all descended in
173 parallel lines from the Tu'i Ha'a-takalaua, who is himself a son of the Tu'i Tonga. The first Tu'i Kanokupolu was Ngata, the eponymous ancestor of the Ha'a Ngata, who was the son, by a Samoan mother, of the sixth Tu'i Ha'atakalaua. Ngata went from Hahake, the eastern end of Tongatabu, to Hihifo, the western end; and Hihifo has always been the principal seat of the Tu'i Kanokupolu, until comparatively recently, when the capital has become Nuku'alofa. The Tu'i Ha'atakalaua Mo'unga-tonga, about 1650, who was the father of Ngata, had a younger brother Vaoloa, whose son was Nuku, the first of this line. Similarly Mo'unga-tonga's son and successor Fotofili had a brother Halakitaua, whose son was the first Niukapu. Nuku and Niukapu and their kin are also said to be the Ha'a Latuhifo.

On the right of Niukapu is Ahio, followed by other
276
574 chiefs of the Ha'a Ngata. To the left of Nuku is Luani,
576 representing the Ha'a-takalaua in some way, and following
643 him are chiefs of the Ha'a Havea. Lavaka, Fie-lakepa, and
613 Tu'i-vakano. One informant assigned positions following
565 these Ha'a Havea chiefs to the Fale Fisi, whose chiefs are the Tu'i Ha'a-teiho, Tu'i Lakepa, Tu'i Ha'a-ngana, and Malupo. The Fale Fisi are descendants of the Fijian Tapuosi (the Tu'i Lakemba?), who married a daughter of the Tu'i Tonga, probably in the seventeenth century.

Although Tu'i Vakano belongs to the Ha'a Havea he seems to be connected in some way with Fiji.[3]

[624] At no part of the ring do two chiefs sit together. Every chief is accompanied by his *matapule*.

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[113] [2] Hocart, *Chieftainship and the Sister's Son in the Pacific*, American Anthropologist (N.S.), Vol. 17, No. 4, pp. 631-646. See also his *Early Fijians*, J.R.A.I., Vol. 49, pp. 42-51.

[3] Cf. Hocart, *Early Fijians*, J.R.A.I., Vol. 49, p. 44.

I am unable to give in detail the positions of all the 276
chiefs; but there are three very important places on each 574
side just where the ring curves round toward the bowl. 576
This portion is called the *fasi.* The whole circle of chiefs 643
and *matapule* is called the *alofi.* The *fasi* has three divisions, 565
the *fasi alofi, fasi tapu,* and *fasi toua,* occupied, on the left,
respectively by three chiefs of the Ha'a Ngata, Ve'ehala,
Ata, and Kapukava; and, on the right, by Ma'afu, Vaha'i,
and Momotu. Ma'afu and Momotu belong to the Ha'a
Havea; but Vaha'i is a son of Nuku, and is said to have
lived in Hihifo, at Foui, as the ambassador, *malanga,* of
Nuku to the Tu'i Kanokupolu.[4] The present prominence [554]
of Vaha'i is probably due largely to the actual might of a [555]
Vaha'i who lived about the beginning of the nineteenth
century, and who was the greatest warrior of his time, at
a period when skill and strength in battle were a passport
to authority. Kapukava has to-day no part in the *fono* (see
below) of Ve'ehala, and Ata surmises that the reason is
that his *fono* was given to Vaha'i.

Ata, who is said to *pule 'ae fonua,* rule the land, and has 644
charge of all things pertaining to the welfare of the king, 643
is, consequently, also said to *pule 'ae kava,* rule the *kava.* 276
He sees that everything is done in order. He has the right 574
to *ha'i 'ae alofi,* bind the *alofi,* which means that if he comes 576
late to a *kava*-ring in which there is no room for him he 565
sits apart; whereupon the chiefs stand up and spread out a
little to make a place for him.

Grouped behind the bowl, or where the bowl will pre- 276
sently be, are the chiefs of the Ha'a Ma'afu, and inferior 574
chiefs of the Ha'a Latuhifo and Ha'a Vaea. This is, in 576
short, the position of younger brothers in general. It is 643 565
called the *toua.*

Apart by himself, to the rear of the *toua,* in a line
with the king and the bowl sits Tungi, the head *(ulu)* of
the Ha'a-takalaua, and with much of the blood of Tu'i
Tonga Fefine flowing in his veins. His connection with the [604]
Tu'i Kanokupolu's *kava*-circle comes through his descent
from Halaevalu Mata'aho, the sister of Taufaahau, King
George I., the founder of the present dynasty, or of the
dynasty in its present status. He is *hako'i fefine,* descendant [604]

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[4] Momotu lived in Kolovai (in Hihifo) as the ambassador of the Ha'a Havea to the Tu'i Kanokupolu.

276 of a woman,[3] and is *fahu* to the Tu'i Kanokupolu. The cup
574 which goes to him is *kava he,* wandering *kava.*

576 It is said of the Ha'a Ngata tupu that they did not
643 565 join the *alofi*, but that it was their duty to guard the *kava*-
[604] making for the king. There is, however, a man named
Tolo, belonging to this house who drinks in the king's *kava*
party. He was brought to drink of the Tu'i Kanokupolu's
kava.

276 Before any *kava* is prepared for drinking presentations
574 of food and *kava* are brought and placed before the king
643 and chiefs. These are arranged in orderly rows, pigs, yams,
802 etc., and *kava*, so as to be easily viewed. Motu'apuaka directs that they be counted. This is done by a man who walks along the rows of baskets, touching each in turn and counting in a loud voice. When he reaches ten a second man jumps up, holding a staff, and calls "one"; the first man continues counting to twenty, when the second man shouts "two," and so on up to one hundred, when the second man calls "ten," and a third man gets up, holding a staff, and shouts "one." So they go on, the first man actually counting, the second keeping count of the tens, and the third of the hundreds. Should the number of baskets go into the thousands a fourth man would join in. When the counting is finished the result is formally announced, so many pigs (distinguished by the way they are prepared and brought, which is some indication of size), so many plants, roots and bundles of *kava* (also distinguished by the way in which they are brought and size), so many baskets of yams, and perhaps other details are mentioned.

Then the presiding *matapule*, Motu'apuaka, orders the
276 *toua* to be put in order, *fakalelei 'ae toua*, and all who
574 do not belong to the *alofi* sit closely grouped in the *toua.*
643 Motu'apuaka bids *kava* be brought, specifying what kind, i.e., what size of plant. This is brought within the circle, and placed at the *toua* end in front of the man who is to prepare the beverage. His place is in the middle of the front of the *toua*, directly opposite, and facing, the king. The *kava* is laid before him with the root toward him and the branches turned away. A man then loosens and divides the root into big sections by striking it with a sharpened

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[3] See Hocart, *Chieftainship and the Sister's Son in the Pacific.* American Anthropologist, Vol. 17, No. 4.

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stake. For the smaller sizes of root, those which may be carried on the shoulder of one man, and smaller, this man sits to his task; but for the larger sizes, those which are brought slung on poles or dragged on sledges, he stands. He does his work facing the king. When this is finished the *kava* is turned about, so that the root faces the king and presiding *matapule*. 276 574 643

Motu'apuaka then orders that the root, or portion of it, be broken up, proportioning the amount of *kava* to be prepared to the size of the assembly. Men sitting by the *kava* break off with stakes conveniently sized pieces, which they throw behind them into the *toua*, where they are scraped clean and beaten up small with stones. This grinding with stones is the modern substitute for chewing. A white man resident in the group long enough to have seen the *kava* chewed has told me that it used to be done by people with healthy mouths, usually, it would seem, by comely girls, that remarkably little saliva was mixed with the *kava*, and that he himself felt no difficulty in drinking *kava* prepared in this way. The duty of breaking off the pieces of *kava* from the root belongs to the family of Ata. If none of this family are available the prerogative passes to the family of Vaha'i.

When the *kava* has been beaten up one or other of two men, named Ma'ata-fahi and Tuakalau, both classed as sons of Kapukava, orders the bowl, *kumete* or *tanoa*, water, strainer, and cups to be brought. The same man had the duty of ordering the stake to be brought with which the root was divided in the first place. At this stage he also bids the bowl to be rinsed.

The bowl is placed in front of the man who is to mix and strain the *kava*, and the beaten-up root is placed in it. The bowl is three-legged, and at the top edge is a small [415] protuberance with a hole in it, through which a cord is tied in a loop, to hang the bowl up when not in use. It is placed so that this hanger is away from the king and *matapule*, and toward the mixer. The mixer grasps two legs of the bowl and tilts it forward toward the *matapule*, so that he may see its contents, at the same time saying, *Koe kava e na'e holo*, There is the *kava* that has been broken. Motu'apuaka responds, *Kuo holo; tuku atu; tu'umalie pe. kae palu*, It is broken up; let go (i.e., let the bowl down on to its

276 legs again) ; it is all right, knead. And at the same time he
574 says to two men who are sitting facing him, one on either
643 side of the bowl, *Tafoki kimoua, 'o 'ai ha'amo vai*, You two turn, and put in your water. These two then turn inwards toward the bowl, and call for water, merely uttering the one word *Vai*. Water is brought and these two keep dipping it into the bowl, whilst the mixer thoroughly kneads and mixes *kava* and water. When the *matapule* sees that almost enough water has been poured in he calls *Vai taha*, One water, and one man ceases pouring in the water. The other goes on till he sees that there is sufficient water in the bowl, and then, whilst still allowing a trickle to run in, he turns toward the *matapule*, who understands the hint, and says, *Taofi 'ae vai; 'ai mai 'ae fau*, Stop the water; put hither the strainer (a bunch of hibiscus, *fau*, fibre). The man who has mixed then strains out the solid particles of *kava* with the fibre. There are different sets of movements in straining the *kava*, the simplest being merely the actions necessary to putting in the fibre strainer, gathering up the scraps of *kava*, wringing and shaking them out. There are at least two sets of movements, the *faka-mui-fonua* and the *milo-lua*, which are much more elaborate, embracing a long series of graceful movements with hands and arms. The movements are, at least to some extent, determined by the kind of *kava*, i.e., size of the root, employed.

The time of straining the *kava* is the occasion for dis-
[482] tributing the *fono*, food accompanying the *kava*. Motu'apu-
aka has looked out one or two baskets from the food pre-
sented, usually selecting an *umu hula*, basket of food borne
276 on two poles on the shoulders of four bearers. When the
574 time comes for distributing the *fono* this basket is brought
643 forward, and a pig taken out and cut up. The liver, which
264 is placed over the hole in the belly through which he has been disembowelled, is first taken and laid before the king. The pig is laid on its back, sideways to the king, with its head to the right hand of the carver, who sits facing the king, if the carver is right-handed, and to his left hand if he is left-handed. First the hind leg on the side nearer the king is cut off, then there is a cut round the middle on that same side, round the neck and foreleg, without removing the leg. The pig is then turned over with its belly toward the king. The other hind leg is cut off, and the hindquarters, and a cut made across the back. The head is

carved off; the back is now taken, and finally the forelegs, 276
taking that first which was first cut. The pig being now 574
dismembered is arranged with all its parts in the same 643
order as they are in the living animal. Whilst the pig is 264
being carved the other food which is to be distributed as *fono* is displayed, and the yams counted. Then the *fono* is distributed. The distribution is said to depend on the number of yams; but what is meant by this is probably no more than that the number of yams in each portion depends on the total number of yams available for the purpose.

The actual distribution of the pig follows strict rules. 276
The back of the pig is taken to the king; the head and one 574
hind leg and one foreleg are for Lauaki and the chiefs and 643
matapule on the left; the hindquarters and one hind and 565
one foreleg are for those on Motu'apuaka's side; a yam 264
and the chest of the pig are put in a basket and taken to Ve'ehala. This last portion is named the *vae-tolu*, third division.

These large portions of the *fono* are sub-divided and distributed to individual chiefs and *matapule*. The top part of the head is the share of Nuku, and the part of the hindquarters in which the tail is set belongs to Niukapu. The [554]
hind legs are more important than, are superior to, the forelegs. The hind legs are cut into three parts, and the hindquarters into four. The portion called *tutanga* (I do not know what part this is) is given to a chief, not to a *matapule*.

The portion which is taken to Ve'ehala is cut up at the direction of his *matapule*, who reserves pieces of yam and pig for Ve'ehala and himself, and the remainder is put back in the basket and taken to Ma'afu, whose *matapule* likewise takes a share for his chief and himself; and the basket is then taken in turn to Ata and Vaha'i, whose *matapule* take portions for their chiefs and themselves. The basket is then taken out of the ring, and the food remaining in it belongs to the *kau ngaohi fono*, which means literally, those who act upon, or with, the *fono;* but I have no record of who they are. Ma'afu's share in this particular *fono* is of recent date. Formerly he was on the right-hand side, nearer to Motu'apuaka, in whose *fono* he shared; but King George Tupou I. placed him in the *fasi alofi*, opposite to Ve'ehala, to bring the Ha'a Havea into more prominence. Ve'ehala's sharing in this *fono* dates from the time of Ata Mataila,

276 the second Tu'i Kanokupolu. Ve'ehala and Ata Mataila
574 were brothers, and Ve'ehala's *fono* is not brought from the
643 portion allotted to Motu'apuaka or Lauaki, but from that
565 assigned to the king himself. But the *fono* is not eaten by
264 those to whom it is given. After it has been distributed certain people who are *fahu* to those to whom the *fono* has been given come and take it away to dispose of as they like; they may eat it themselves or give it to whomsoever they will. Usually the *fono* is not eaten till after the *kava* ceremony is finished. Those who have the right of eating the *fono* are spoken of as *kai fono, fono* eaters. Some of the *fahu* of a chief are spoken of as *kau mokopuna 'eiki*, noble descendants, or noble grandchildren. *(Mokopuna* is the word used in translating the English "grandchild," but of course its Tongan meaning is not so restricted.) Not
565 all *mokopuna* are *'eiki*, noble. (Mr. Hocart's distinction
554 between nobles and chiefs, titled heads of houses, is necessary and convenient. The Tongan word for both nobles and chiefs is *'eiki*, but there is a third sense of *'eiki*, viz., superior in social rank. For example, one may say that such a one, a member of his family, is *'eiki* to him, i.e., superior to him in rank within the family; all the members of the family may be *'eiki*, noble, and some one or other individual may be the *'eiki*, the titled head.) Whether the *mokopuna* are noble or not depends on birth, doubtless on the rank of their mothers. One informant calls the *mokopuna 'eiki* those who are *'eiki*, socially superior, in their families.
[264] Children, *fanau*, do not eat the *fono*, but only *mokopuna*.
[858] A father is sacred, *toputapu*, to his sons and daughters;
593 they must not touch his head or eat his food; but grand-
603 children are not bound by *tapu* in respect of their grandparents.

604 But although some may simply say that the *kau moko-*
554 *puna 'eiki*, chiefly grandchildren, are those who eat the *fono*, others lay stress on the sister's son as pre-eminently the one who is *fahu*. The father's sister's son is also *fahu*. A very intelligent Tongan says that one cannot lay down a hard and fast rule as to who is especially *the fahu* in every case. A concrete example is that of Takai, a descendant of the daughter of Alea-motua, the Tu'i Kanokupolu who died in 1845, who is *fahu* and *kai fono* to the present Queen.

The *fahu* rights of the sister's son are clear; but the
[603] children of both sons and daughters have free access to

their grand-parents, and are, at all events in general, of 604
superior social rank to them, yet they are not necessarily 554
fahu to them. [603]

Do the rights of the *mokopuna* and of the sister's son indicate a fusion of two social organizations?

There is also an expression *hako 'eiki*, which simply 611
translated would mean chiefly descendants, but is defined 565
by a Tongan informant as a descendant, *hako*, of a chief other than the one to whom his "body rightly is related," which apparently means a person closely related to one noble house, but having in his veins the blood of some other noble family.[6]

Foreigners, being exempt from the *tapu* binding on 609
the native, may eat the *fono;* but when the descendant of 276
a foreigner has much Tongan plebeian blood claims based 574
on foreignness are disallowed. At a *kava* party of Ata's 576
some women were sitting in the *alofi*, and were ordered to move. One, however, who said she was a Samoan, was allowed to stay, and sat throughout the ceremony with one hand resting on the ground, which would not have been permitted to a Tongan woman or man.

Should there happen to be no *kai fono* in the assembly 276
the chief may call anyone to come and take the *fono*. After 574
the chief's *fono* has been taken no difficulty is felt about 264
the others. The *matapule* may tell the man who is taking away the chief's to take all; he may take all together, or may take the chief's first and then return for the remainder. There is no formality here; it is merely a matter of convenience.

The time occupied with the *fono* is that for certain 276
speeches to be made by the *matapule*, mainly of a con- 574
gratulatory sort. There are certain stereotyped phrases of 537
compliment, e.g., *kei tu'u pe 'ae la'a*, the sun is still in 643
its place, i.e., the king is still well. A very interesting [195]
feature of these ceremonial addresses is the introductory [576]

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[6] *Hou'eiki matua*, noble parents, are chiefs who have become the progenitors of other titled houses, i.e., in addition to their original title which has continued in the direct line, at some point in their history another line and title have branched off from them.

Kai fonua, eating the land. Ata and Vaea are *kai fonua;* first-fruits were taken to them, and they ordered fruits of the land to be taken to the Tu'i Kanokupolu. There were no *kai fonua* chiefs among the Tu'i Tonga chiefs. (*Anga faka-kai-fonua* is said to be an abusive term.)

25: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1927 OU9 Tonga OU9

276 *fakataputapu,* an invocation of all those who might be dis-
574 pleased at the effrontery of one's speaking in so august an
537 assemblage. The following is the full formula with which
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576 a speech should be begun on a ceremonial occasion before
643 the Tu'i Kanokupolu: Tapu mo Mo'unga Motu'a (the first Tu'i Ha'atakalaua), tapu mo Tu'i Ha'a Mo'unga (the son of Mo'unga Motu'a), tapu mo Ha'a Moheofo (the Tu'i Kanokupolu and his chiefs), tapu mo Ha'a Latuhifo (Niukapu and Nuku), tapu mo Ha'a Ma'afu (who seem to be the descendants of the Tu'i Kanokupolu, Ma'afu-'ae-tu'i-tonga), tapu mo Ha'a Vaea (Luani and his family), Pea tapu moe kano 'oe loto'a oe Hau 'aia ko Ha'a-teiho mo Lakepa mo Hoi mo Afitu (And *tapu moe* pith—flesh, heart, centre—of the compound of the King, namely Ha'a-teiho and Lakepa and Hoi and Afitu); pea tapu mo Ha'a Ngata motu'a, pea tapu mo Ha'a Ngata tupu, pea tapu mo Ha'a Havea, pea tapu mo Maliepo mo Molofaha (old names of Motu'apuaka and Lauaki), pea tapu moe tangata 'o Tu'i Tonga 'oku fio he alofi 'oe Hau (and *tapu moe* Tu'i Tonga's man who mingles in the circle of the King), pea tapu moe Fale Fisi, pea tapu mo Ha'a Ngana mo Ha'a Ngana (two houses of the Fale Fisi), pea tapu mo Sina'e ki mu'a (a house connected with the Tu'i Tonga), pea tapu mo Sina'e ki mui (a house connected with the Tu'i Tonga), pea tapu mo ha'a fokololo 'oe Hau (and *tapu mo* servants (?) of the King), pea tapu moe alofi moe alofi (that is, both sides of the *alofi),* pea tapu moe fasi tapu moe fasi tapu (that is, the *fasi tapu* on either side), pea tapu moe toua 'eiki na, pea ka ai ha lea e mahehei kuo 'osi eku fakatapu kae ata keu lea (and *tapu moe* yon noble *toua,* and if there be a word that goes astray my *fakatapu* is finished and I am free to speak).

The corresponding formula for an assembly of the Tu'i Tonga is: Pea tapu moe 'Afio 'o Langi (And *tapu moe* Majesty of Heaven, i.e., the Tu'i Tonga), pea tapu moe Tu'i Kelekele (the Tu'i Pelehake, a classificatory brother of the Tu'i Tonga), pea tapu moe Tu'i Kakai (King of the People, i.e., the Tu'i Ha'a-takalaua), pea tapu moe Toua Hili[7] (the Tamaha), pea tapu moe Toua Ato (said to be

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[7] ***Toua hili*** **might mean behind the** ***toua.*** **Note that in the Tu'i Kanokupolu** ***kava*** **ring Tungi, who is descendant of a woman has a special place behind the** ***toua.*** **I have learnt nothing about the position of the Tamaha in the Tu'i Tonga's circle, but the Tamaha is also descendant of a woman, being the child of the Tu'i Tonga Fefine.**

those whose mothers are noble on the side of the Hau, Tu'i 276
Kanokupolu, and fathers are noble in the Tu'i Tonga fam- 574
ily), pea tapu moe Sina'e ki mu'a (Tafolo, and perhaps 537 195
Tamale), pea tapu moe Sina'e 'eiki, pea tapu moe Sina'e ki 576
mui (perhaps Tamale, or Manumua and Lomu), pea tapu 643
moe Tu'i Hoi, pea tapu mo (moe) Faoa Manafa. Koe ngata
e tala 'o Fanakava kae ata kae fai hano tala (The end of
the telling of Fanakava[8] and it is clear to make its speech).

Before the *kava* is distributed the presentations of 276
food and *kava* are taken outside the ring. Motu'apuaka will 574
probably order them to be taken for Lauaki, who will 576
superintend their distribution, either personally or by a
deputy. If there be a chief present whom it is desired to 276
honour, for example a visitor, Motu'apuaka may order that 574
these presentations be taken for his *matapule;* or Lauaki, 576 565
in making the actual distribution, will see that he gets a 554
large share. In such distributions the chiefs for whom portions *(inasi)* are designed are not named, but their *matapule*, and the *matapule* express thanks for the gifts. Visiting chiefs thus honoured will be expected to provide a good reception when, later on, they are visited in their own homes.

It will be recalled that three men are seated at the 276
kava-bowl, one at either side, and one behind facing the 574
king. The man on the side, in a line with the *matapule* who is directing operations says, when the straining is finished, *Kuo ma'a 'ae kava ni,* This *kava* is clear. The *matapule* responds *Tokonaki 'o fakatau,* Make ready and deal out. Then the cups, which have been in making whilst the *kava* was being brewed are brought.[9]

Of the two men seated at the side of the bowl one "calls," that is, calls out as each cup is filled; and the other removes the little pieces of *kava* that adhere about the rim of the bowl, usually employing a small piece of coconut-leaf

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[8] Fanakava, so far as one can get information about it from living [778]
Tongans, is remembered mostly as a sanctuary. It is a very sacred part of the Tu'i Tonga's ground in Mu'a.

[9] Although cups of coconut-shell are used on lesser occasions the [415]
cups used at great ceremonies are of folded plantain leaf. The coco-
nut-shell cups of Niua Fo'ou differ from those of other parts of the [283]
Tongan Group in having a hole near the edge through which is [824]
threaded a cord of twisted hibiscus fibre, to serve as a hanger.

25: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1927 OU9 Tonga OU9

276 for the purpose, and using only the hand on the side nearer
574 the king.

People come from the *toua*, each bearing a cup, and
276 stand ready. The first approaches and holds his cup over
574 576 the bowl, whilst the man who has brewed the *kava* wrings
some of the beverage into it. The caller cries *Koe kava kuo*
[533] *heka*, The *kava* is lifted. It might be better to say that the
caller sings this; even on ordinary occasions this, and the
matapule's response, are uttered in a musical chant; whilst
on great occasions cry and response are drawn out much
longer. Motu'apuaka replies, *'Ave ia ma'a Lauaki,* Take it
for Lauaki. Lauaki claps his hands, and the cup is taken
to him. The second cup is for Niukapu, and the third for
[613] the king.[10] The *matapule* orders the king's cup to be brought
[192] in different terms from those used for the other cups; he
says, *Omai ia ki heni ma'a Tupou,* Bring it here for Tupou.
[565] So in other *kava* parties the cup for the highest chief present
[559] is ordered to be brought here, not taken, for the chief.
Each cup as it is filled is called, a name given by the *matapule* for it to be taken to, and the person called claps to show his whereabouts. The fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh cups are taken in order to chiefs and *matapules,* alternating from one side to the other, to Nuku, to the *matapule* next Niukapu, to the *matapule* next Nuku, to Ahio. The eighth cup jumps to the *fasi alofi,* to Ve'ehala. The ninth cup returns to where the distribution left off to go to Ve'ehala, and three more are served on either side; then to the chief in the *fasi alofi* opposite to Ve'ehala, namely Ma'afu. Three more on either side, and then Ata, in the *fasi tapu;* three more on either side and then Vaha'i, in the *fasi tapu* opposite to Ata. Three on either side, and then to Tungi, out by himself behind the *toua.* Three on either side, and then to Tolo, who was brought from Vava'u to Tongatabu to represent the Ha'a Ngata tupu in the king's *kava* party. He sits in the *toua.* Then the *matapule* who is ordering the distribution has a cup brought to himself. He, however, does not at once drink it, but sits with it between his hands, resting on the ground. The distribution then goes on as before, three on either side, followed by a cup which "jumps," *hopo.* The distribution goes through all the *ha'a*

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[10] At a comparatively informal *kava* party I have seen the first cup brought to the Queen.

tribes, clans, represented, three on either side, with special 276
chiefs marked by cups which "jump." Following the Ha'a 574
Ngata come the Ha'a Ma'afu, of which Vaea drinks the 576
first cup, or the principal cup, the Ha'a Latuhifo, the Ha'a Vaea and the Ha'a Havea. (This was the order given to me, but it can hardly be meant that this order of the *ha'a* is strictly followed, if it is followed at all, from the beginning, as obviously many of the chiefs of these *ha'a* must have drunk amongst the earlier cups.) If this does not complete the ceremony there will be a cup for a Ha'a Ngata chief or noble, one for the Ha'a Ngata tupu, and one for the Ha'a Ma'afu. This last will not be drunk by the holder of a title, but by a close relative, usually by some one classed as a younger brother of the king. So the distribution goes on, two threes, and special cups, "jumping" and designating the *ha'a*, in the same order.

When the *kava* is nearly finished the caller drinks, and after a few more cups his vis-a-vis, called *anga'i kava*, drinks his. If there is still sufficient *kava* it will be distributed amongst those in the *toua*, the *matapule* ordering the succession according to his judgment of rank. Finally Ata says to *toe kava*, remainder the *kava*, and the caller cries, *Koe toe kava e*, There is the remainder of the *kava*. The *matapule* replies, *Tuku ia ma'ae tau kava*, Leave it for the server of *kava*. The *matapule*, who has been holding his cup since it was given to him, then drinks. The server wipes the bowl with the fibre strainer, another man takes away the bowl, and the server drinks the cup which he has filled for himself. The two men at the side of the bowl turn and face the king. A man goes and brings away the *matapule's* cup, and when he has sat down again in his place in the *toua* Vaha'i, without rising, moves forward with two short slides, and says to the *matapule*, *Ko hono ngata e mau kava*, That is the end of the piece of *kava*; to which the *matapule* responds, *Hiki 'ae toua*, Remove the *toua*. These in the *toua* then get up and go away. No one in the *alofi* must rise till the *toua* have gone. Then the *alofi* rise and leave.

During the ceremony the family, *fanau*, of Vaha'i see that order is maintained. They are the guardians of Ha'a Ngata.

Whilst the *kava* is being prepared Ata looks round to see that the chiefs are sitting in their proper places. When

276 When one has drunk his *kava* in the Tu'i Kanokupolu's *kava*-ring
574 he puts his cup down in front of him, whence it is taken
576 and returned to the bowl to be refilled by the cup-bearers.

643 Ve'ehala, Ma'afu, Ata, and Vaha'i do not drink the cup
276 brought to them, but hand their cups to their *matapule*,
574 and when the *matapule's* cups are brought they hand these
565 624 in their turn to their chiefs. The reason of this exchange
554 is said to be to make sure that the *matapule* get *kava;* the
chiefs know that they will not be left long without a cup.

There is a poem relating to the displeasure of the Tu'i
276 Kanokupolu Mumui, because a *matapule* intercepted a root
574 576 of *kava* that was being taken to the king. The *matapule*
554 maintained that, as the king's *matapule*, he was justified
565 624 in taking the *kava* for himself. A *matapule* is entitled to the
643 deference due to his chief. If the king's *matapule* is present
644 at a *kava* ceremony when the king himself is absent the
ceremony will be carried through as though the king were
there, the *matapule* taking the king's place.

276 In the *kava*-ring chiefs are called by their own names
574 to receive their cups, but in distributions of food and other
576 gifts chiefs' names are never called, but their *matapule*
565 624 are called as recipients of the gifts.

[551] If a chief and his *matapule* are alone, and desire to drink *kava*, the chief prepares and serves the drink. A chief would climb a tree to get a coconut for his *matapule* to drink. These are strictly private concerns when the chief and *matapule* are alone, and are called *faka-fale-puipui*, within the screened house.

Everybody receives his *kava* with two hands, and drinks holding the cup between his two hands. When a chief hands his cup to his *matapule* he passes it to him with one hand, but the *matapule* receives it with both hands. (Is there any connection between this and the two-handled beaker of some other cultures?)

Several *matapule* are said to be Samoans. Lauaki
624 came to the Tu'i Kanokupolu from the Tu'i Tonga, and
829 is said to be a descendant of Maliepo, one of the heavenly
644 half-brothers of the first Tu'i Tonga, Ahoeitu, son of
Eitumatupua, lord of heaven, and a mortal woman. Because
Maliepo and his brothers in the sky murdered Ahoeitu, who
was brought again to life, they had to serve him in one
capacity or another when he became Tu'i Tonga. (See *Folk-lore*, Vol. 35, No. 3, p. 282.)

Kamoto, an important *matapule*, is the head of Fale 624
Hakili, House of Hakili, said to be a Samoan house. He 613
was brought to Hihifo when Ngata, the eponymous ancestor 829
of the Ha'a Ngata, son of the Tu'i Ha'a-takalaua and
a Samoan woman, was born.

Uhi was brought to Ata.

The Tu'i Kanokupolu has *matapule* in other parts 643
besides Tongatabu; Kofe and Afeaki in Ha'apai, Fotu and 644
Afu in Vava'u, Masila and Kaufana in Niua Fo'ou, Sika
and Haufano in Niua Toputapu, Elili and Malala in Uvea
(Wallis Island).

DIFFERENT SORTS OF KAVA.

Different sizes of complete *kava* plants or portions of 276
it, are brought and presented in different ways, and have 574
distinguishing names. 576 482

1st. *Kava fua taha, kava* borne on the shoulder of one man. This is put down directly in front of the king, root toward him.

2nd. *Kava tofitofi,* divided *kava,* properly in bundles of ten. Several men bring this on their shoulders, and it is placed to the left of 1, roots toward the king.

3rd. *Kava no'o,* bound *kava,* small pieces tied in bundles of ten. Placed to the left of 2.

4th. *Kava ha'amo, kava* borne on a pole. A large root slung on a pole between two bearers, and placed to the right of 1.

5th. *Kava hula, kava* borne on two poles. This is still larger, and is slung on two poles carried by four bearers. It is placed to the right of 4.

6th. *Kava toho,* dragged *kava,* brought on a sledge of *fa,* pandanus wood, and placed to the right of 5. This seems to be placed upright on the sledge.

7th. *Kava fakatefisi, kava* in the *Tefisi* manner. This is the largest of all, and is brought lying on a sledge of *fa,* root forward, and the front of the root covered by plaited coconut leaf, called *fakatefisi.* (The same word is applied to a similar plait of coconut leaves in house-building. *Tefisi,* cf. Tahiti, Fiti, etc., is a place name in Tonga.)

All *kava* plants are placed before the king with the 276
roots foremost. The specially elaborate movements of hands [643]
and arms in straining the *kava* belong properly to occasions
when either of the two largest sorts of *kava* plant, or root,

276 is used. The straining for *kava toho* is *milo-lua*, double twist. To begin this the fibres for straining are picked up with one hand. For *kava faka-tefisi* the straining is *faka-mui-fonua*, land's-end-manner, to begin which the fibres are picked up out of the bowl with two hands.

INSTALLATION OF A CHIEF.

565 The essence of the installation of a chief is the calling
622 him into his place in the *kava*-ring, to receive his cup
554 by his new title. As a concrete example I was told that
276 Ve'ehala was to be installed, and that at the *kava* ceremony
574 he would sit in the *toua* whilst the *kava* was being prepared, and that when all was ready Motu'apuaka would say, *Koena 'a Ve'ehala, koe nofoanga e ki he tokelau*, There Ve'ehala, the seat yonder to the north.

At the installation of Ahio in January, 1920, Ahio sat next to Kioa, a classificatory younger brother of Motu'apuaka, who was absent. The first cup was given to Ahio.

INSTALLATION OF TU'I KANOKUPOLU.

Until recent years the Tu'i Kanokupolu was installed
643 at a great *kava* ceremony in Hihifo, the old seat of this kingship. The Tu'i Kanokupolu has now become the constitutional ruler of the whole group, absorbing into himself both the titles of the Tu'i Tonga and the Tu'i Ha'a-takalaua, and the installation of the last two rulers has been at the
[137] modern capital Nuku'alofa. On the green, *mala'e*, in Hihifo,
[824] where the installation previously took place, stood three
trees, a *koka*, with an *ovava*, banyan, on either side. The
[644] king sat with his back to the *koka*, and the banyans were
[824] called Motu'apuaka and Lauaki, the *matapule*. A piece of
[644] the ancient *koka* has been let into the back of the modern throne.

At the installation of the present Queen, in 1918, a
[276] coronation ceremony on the European model was followed
[574] by a native installation with appropriate *kava* ceremony
[644] on the *mala'e* at Nuku'alofa. Before the installation of a
[565] Tu'i Kanokupolu it seems to have been the practice for the
[554] king-elect, Ata, and Ve'ehala to meet together that the king might be instructed by these two chiefs in his duties as guardian of the country. After the *kava* ceremony he was taken to a place near the *mala'e* in Hihifo, and received

further exhortation from Ata and Ve'ehala, but on this 643
occasion each chief met and talked with the king separately.

On the following day there was another gathering on [276]
the *mala'e* for another *kava* ceremony, the *pongipongi tapu.* [574]

On the night between his installation and the *pongipongi tapu* the king slept in the compound, *api*, named Le'ole'o, Guarding, Vigil, near the *mala'e.*

The positions of the chiefs and *matapule* in the *alofi* 276
will be the same as that already noted. In connection with 574
the installation of Her Majesty Queen Salote I was told 643
that the position of Ulukalala, the chief of the Ha'a Ngata 565
622
tupu, was behind the *toua*, and that, as he was absent, his 624
cup was poured out on the ground in the place where he 576
should have been sitting. A man of mixed Tongan and Samoan blood, who has spent some time in Samoa, says that in Samoa, in these Christian days, there is still a practice of pouring out a little *kava* on the ground to God.
I think I have heard an old Tongan say that there was [782]
an old Tongan custom of pouring out *kava* to gods, and
throwing a little up into the air to the gods who dwelt in the skies.

During the *kava* ceremony of the installation of the 276
Tu'i Kanokupolu there are three speeches, delivered by 574
Tovi, Fa'oa and Ata. The first, *tala toafa*, telling of the 643
shore-flats, deals with the shell-fish; the second, *tala hakau*, 537
telling of the reefs, deals with fish, especially with the *atū*, bonito. These speeches, whilst doubtless an exhortation to the people to do their duty to the Tu'i Kanokupolu, are also an exhortation to the Tu'i Kanokupolu to do his duty in taking the fruits of the shore and sea to the Tu'i Tonga. The third, *tala fonua*, telling of the land, deals with the face of the land, including an exhortation to the people to procure the trees to build the new king's compound and house, named Tangi-tu-langi, which another informant
renders Tangi-atulanga. The compound was enclosed by 644
several fences, one within the other, the building of which
was apportioned amongst the chiefs. The chiefs and nobility [622]
forming the king's court had pieces of land round the royal [565]
compound. The names of some of these compounds have been taken by chiefs to other parts of the group, whither they have removed and formed settlements with their people.

276 The speakers do not stand to deliver these speeches,
574 but slide forward in two jerks, returning to their places
643 by two backward slides when they have finished.

537 The mats and cloth where the king sits are given to
516 Ata when the ceremony is finished; the king's clothing,
276 *vala*, to Motu'apuaka and Lauaki. Whilst the *kava* is being
574 prepared Motu'apuaka and Lauaki dispute about who is to
643 distribute it. Originally, it seems, there was a contention
565 622 in real earnest, which was finally brought to the test of
[431] who (or whose son) had slain most men in a battle. In this Lauaki won the pre-eminence, but later gave the honour up to Motu'apuaka, who still holds it. The traditional dispute, however, is part of the ceremony. When the water was ordered at the Queen's installation to mix the *kava*, a number of people jumped up and ran to fetch it. The water was brought from a tank, or other supply, at a little distance; and presently there was a crowd of runners, going and coming, between the water supply and the *kava*-bowl. None brought much at a time. Anyone who had a large container contrived to spill a considerable amount of the water he was carrying before he reached the bowl. In the midst of this bustle there was a certain amount of good-humoured splashing of those engaged in the task.

The explanation given of this custom is that it is to show how large a number of people are eager to fly in the service of the king. All sorts of receptacles are used now-a-days, including buckets, but it is said that formerly only small vessels, such as hollow bamboos, were used. The hibiscus fibre with which the *kava* is strained is supplied in seven portions, a portion each by the Ha'a Ma'afu, the Ha'a Ngata, the Ha'a Havea, the Ha'a Ngata tupu, the Ha'a Ata (Tongatea of Ha'akame), the Ha'a Vaea (Luani of Vava'u), and the Ha'a Maofanga (in Hihifo; Latukefu has charge of this portion).

276 As the Queen moved onto the *mala'e* for her installa-
574 tion she was preceded by a man who ran ahead, brandishing
643 a spear, crouching and looking round. His face was black-
644 ened, and he had the appearance of a scout or guard; but
in his performance was a strong element of burlesque. The
most extraordinary part of his behaviour was during the
[576] actual *kava* ceremony. He was free of all *tapu*, and his
[784] conduct, in other circumstances, would have been shockingly offensive. He smoked, lounged, and walked close

before and behind the Queen's person, and when the pig's 276
liver was placed before her he impaled it on his spear, and 574
ate it. This man is a Fijian (of course the amount of 643
Fijian blood in this particular individual may be but little), 644
belonging to the Ha'a Havea. His name is Moa, and the 576
same man played the part at the installation of the present 784
Queen and of her father. Moa is connected with Tu'i-vakano. Of the origin of Tu'i Vakano it is related that a Fijian couple lived with Mataele Ha'amea, the fourth Tu'i Kanokupolu, about the beginning of the eighteenth century. A son was born to the Tu'i Kanokupolu, and given to the Fijian couple, becoming the first Tu'i Vakano.

It is said that a man named Soakai is allowed to eat [576]
and smoke in the *kava* party of the Tu'i Tonga chiefs, and he is said to have smoked in the *kava* party of the late king, George Tupou II.

The Kau Fale-fa, the *matapule* of the Tu'i Tonga, were 276
allowed to eat in the *kava* party of the Tu'i Kanokupolu. 574
It is probable that the exemption from ordinary *tapu* en- 643
joyed by these is connected with the fact of foreignness, 644 576
Moa being Fijian, Soakai also, as his name implies, and as 609
is stated by tradition. He is a member of the Fale-fa. (See *Folk-lore*, Vol. 32, No. 1, p. 57.) The Kau Fale-fa, as *matapule* of the Tu'i Tonga, would be privileged in respect of the Tu'i Kanokupolu, and tradition, moreover, assigns to them a Fijian descent.

THE TU'I TONGA'S KAVA.

Although the ritual of the Tu'i Tonga's *kava*-ring was, 276
doubtless, much like that of the Tu'i Kanokupolu procedure, 574
there were certain differences. It is difficult to get to-day an 643
exact description of the Tu'i Tonga ritual, but the following known differences from the Tu'i Kanokupolu ritual may be noted.

In the first breaking of the root in large pieces the man doing this work in the Tu'i Kanokupolu *kava*-ring turns toward the king; but in the Tu'i Tonga's *kava*-ring he turns away from the king.

The bowl was turned round the opposite way, so that the hanger pointed toward the king (*fuli taunga*, turning the hanger). The Tu'i Tonga received the second cup, not the third as the Tu'i Kanokupolu does. This cup was not called, but presented in reverent silence.

276 574 643 The cups are called differently. The *matapule* in the Tu'i Tonga ring says, *Koe kava ia 'a me'a,* It is the *kava* of so-and-so. The cup-bearer informs the *matapule* that the cup has been filled, not a man sitting by the bowl as in the Tu'i Kanokupolu's ring.

In the Tu'i Kanokupolu ritual the cup-bearer stoops as the cup is filled, and as he presents it to the one who is called; but in the Tu'i Tonga ritual the cup-bearer sits, both as the cup is being filled, and as he presents it to the drinker.

[516] [554] [565] In the Tu'i Kanokupolu *kava*-ring the *matapule* sit with their feet covered, hands clasped before them, resting in their laps, and formerly with index fingers together and
[516] [554] [565] extended. In the Tu'i Tonga's *kava* party the *matapule* need not cover their feet, and may dispose of their hands as they please.

Cup-bearers in the Tu'i Kanokupolu *kava*-ring may cross the ring, going or coming with full or empty cups; but in the Tu'i Tonga's ring it was not permitted to cross the ring. It is said that a space was left between the *alofi* and *toua* for the cup-bearers to pass, but it is not clear whether this implies that they had to go and come outside the ring, or whether they could skirt round just inside it.
[784] In any case it is implied that the Tu'i Tonga's *alofi* was *tapu* in a way in which the Tu'i Kanokupolu's is not. The *fono* is taken and eaten by certain *fahu* as in the case of the Tu'i Kanokupolu ceremony. An informant mentions the Family of Ma'afu, *Fanau 'a Ma'afu,* whom he calls Rotumans, and the Kau Fale-fa, the *matapules* of the Tu'i Tonga, of Fijian descent, as being able to eat remains of the Tu'i Tonga's food. This, of course, does not imply that they are the people who may eat his *fono*. It is not likely that any living Tongan could reconstruct in its entirety the Tu'i Tonga's *kava*-ring, giving the position of all the chiefs, or even of the principal ones; but the late chief Tamale said that his own position was in the *fasi tapu.* He added that the chief Tafolo was once of equal rank with the Tu'i Ha'a-takalaua. In counting the baskets of food presented, in the Tu'i Tonga ceremonial the first basket only is touched, and the remainder merely pointed at. In comment on this it was said that the first basket is for the Tu'i Tonga himself, and he alone is chief. In counting the baskets at a

Tu'i Kanokupolu ceremony the counter touches each basket, 276
using alternately the right and left hand. 574

643
Great as was the Tu'i Tonga, the Tama-ha, Sacred Child, the child, especially the daughter, of his sister or of his father's sister, the Tu'i Tonga Fefine, was, by the ordinary rules of social precedence, his superior. This superiority was acknowledge by presentations of food, and presumably of *kava*. The basket of food taken by the Tu'i Tonga to the Tamaha was slung on a pole between two bearers, and by a fiction represented as borne on the king's own shoulder. A piece of native cloth was tied to the basket, and the Tu'i Tonga walked along, holding the end of this cloth. This was called the *ha'amo,* bearing on a pole, of the Tu'i Tonga.

VISITS TO SHRINES.

The presentation and drinking of *kava* was an essential 276
part of the visit and supplication to gods. The priest seems 782
to have been the chief at such a ceremony; as the Tongan 793
expression has it, the *kava* was his, or to him.

In visiting a shrine it would appear that even great 276
chiefs did not disdain to serve the *kava,* and act as cup- 778
bearers to the gods. An excellently-informed and elderly 782
chief told me that Taufaahau, King George Tupou I., was 793
serving the *kava* during a memorable visit to a shrine in 643
Ha'apai, to which was attached a priestess. It was in the early days of Christianity, and Taufaahau avowed his nascent disbelief in the old gods by smiting the priestess in the throat, with the butt end of a coconut leaf, as she was drinking her cup of *kava.*

The late chief Tamale, an elderly man when I knew 276
him, said that when *kava* was taken to the great god of 782
eastern Tongatabu, Pulotu Katoa, who was especially asso- 793
ciated with Nuku, the *kava* was presented, or the ceremony 776
directed, to the god's priest Vakahi. Those who acted as *matapule* at such a ceremony were Ma'elo, a younger brother
of Nuku, and Tamale, the son of Nuku's daughter. The [825]
representative of this god, or that through which the god came into rapport with the physical world, was a dog, and a dog lay beside the priest during the ceremony.

The offerings to a god would include food, cloth, mats, etc., and doubtless served to enrich the priests.

PRIESTS.

276 The suggestion has been made that priests were free
574 to sit in the *alofi* of all *kava* ceremonies. It is said that a
793 living pastor of the Methodist Church, belonging to Ha'ano,
643 of which island the chief alone, the Tu'i Ha'a-ngana, and
his *matapule*, have places in the *alofi* of the king's *kava*
party, sat in the *alofi* at a *kava* party of the late king,
George Tupou II. When his position was challenged he
claimed the right to be there as a *taula-'eiki*, priest, because
of his status as a pastor in the Mission, and his claim
was allowed. Doubtless this case illustrates the king's good
nature rather than the cleric's inherent right, but points
to ancient priestly privilege.

KAVA TO A TRAVELLING PARTY.

276 The root is brought and placed before the leader of
574 the travelling party, or man of highest rank amongst them.
485 He thanks the donors for their gift, picks it up, and puts
565 it down again. The *matapule* of the highest chief present,
554 whether he is one of the travellers or not, calls for the
624 *kava* to be brought to him, and has the whole, or portion,
431 prepared and drunk. The piece of root not being beaten up
and brewed, or some other piece of *kava*, lies before the
matapule the while. When one round has been drunk he
orders the piece of *kava* lying before him to be taken
to the *matapule* on the other side of the chief (in
important *kava* ceremonies of all kinds the highest chief
has a *matapule* on either hand, other chiefs present have
but one). This *matapule* will then supervise a second round
of drinking, using the liquor left in the bowl from the first
round, if there be enough, or ordering the pieces already
strained out to be beaten up and used again, or having a
fresh piece of root prepared. If there be a third round, the
piece of root and supervision return to the first *matapule*,
and so on.

The passing of function from one *matapule* to the other is not confined to parties welcoming travellers.

276 In any *kava* party the *matapule* may at the point when
574 it is announced that the *kava* is clear, *Kuo ma'a ae kava ni*,
565 give away the *kava* that is in front of him to anybody in
624 the ring, to do what he likes with. Guests are frequently
so honoured. The *matapule* says, *Tauhi 'ae kava ni ma'a*

me'a, Take this *kava* for so-and-so; the person named, or 276
his *matapule*, responds, *Fakafetai, Thanks.* Such a piece of 574
kava is at the disposal of him to whom it is given; but if 565
there be a shortage for the needs of present sociability he 624
will probably have it beaten up and drunk.

FUAKAVA.

The word *fuakava*, translated to-day as oath, is said 276
to have originated in the practice of settling disputes over 574
the *kava*-bowl. 578

The heads of the family or families concerned would get the dissentients together, and, whilst *kava* was being prepared, go into the matter in dispute. Pleas and arguments on both sides were heard, the whole matter thoroughly ventilated, and ways of accommodation suggested. The *kava* was not drunk till a friendly settlement was reached. The first round of the drink taken in the reestablished harmony was the *fua-kava,* said to mean literally first-*kava*. To drink of this *kava,* and afterwards to be disloyal to the agreement reached would make one *mala'ia,* accursed. The first cup is the *kava 'oe 'otua, kava* of the god, and was poured out on the ground.

GIVING OF KAVA.

During a time of war some generations ago the chief 173
Niukapu sought sanctuary with the priest Kautae, who 778
preserved the inviolacy of the sanctuary at the cost of the 793
sacrifice of his own child. For this devotion Niukapu told 276
Kautae to ask what return he would, and the priest 574
requested the chief to give him his *kava,* i.e., the right to drink Kautae's cup in *kava* ceremonies. This was granted, and the right has been exercised freely. The name Kautae has been continued to the present day, and when one priest dies a new one is installed. In a *kava* party where both Niukapu and Kautae are present when Niukapu's cup is called Kautae may say, *Ha'u 'ae kava koe ki heni,* That *kava* come here.

Another right is illustrated by the claim that may be 276
made by any man called Tapuosi on the cup of a Fale Fisi 574
chief. The chiefs of the Fale Fisi, Malupo, Tu'i Ha'a-teiho, 551
and Tu'i Ha'a-ngana have their descent from the Fijian Tapuosi, probably the Tu'i Lakemba, who married a daughter of the Tu'i Tonga in the seventeenth century.

276 To-day if a man named Tapuosi be present in the *kava*
574 party of a Fale Fisi chief he may call for the cup of the
551 Fale Fisi chief to be brought to him. This calling is a sign
of the claim to be a *tupuanga*, progenitor, of the one whose cup is called.

NAMES.

551 Chiefs have several names; the name or names by
565 which they are known from infancy, or which are given to them later in life; hereditary titles, which do not belong to them till they have succeeded to, and been installed in, a chieftainship; and nicknames, *hingoa fakatenetene*, which are always of pleasant objects, very frequently of sweet-smelling and valued plants and flowers. These last are names of friendly and familiar intercourse, and would not be used in *kava*-drinking, except at an informal social party. A high chief compares their use to the use of Christian names among white people.

276 The proper name for a *kava* ceremonial is the title.
574 Titles must be used only by the chiefs who actually bear
551 them. An old lady, closely related to a previous chief
554 Ahome'e, his daughter I think, who is customarily called
576 by the name Ahome'e, much as we call a married woman
565 by her husband's name, was turned out of the *alofi* of a *kava* party, because no relatives of Ahome'e are allowed in the *alofi*, but only Ahome'e himself. The same thing applies to all other titles. Sometimes the *matapule* does not know the names of all in the party, and has to make inquiries. Such questioning is done in a discreet, delicate way. The *matapule* usually asks in a low voice of someone sitting near him. In one of the Niuas (Niua Fo'ou or Niua Toputapu) such questioning is much more open, and the Tongans call faka-Niua, Niua fashion, the open asking and telling of names.

A European friend has told me that he has seen a youth, the son of the chief Tafolo, whose title had become almost a surname in everyday use by members of his family, give this name in a *kava* party, to find it disallowed. He was made to give some other name under which to have the *kava* served to him. This was in a comparatively informal friendly gathering.

The titles of *matapule* must not be used indiscriminately. At a *kava* party at which the Queen was present

a woman gave the name of Lelenoa, but this was disallowed, 276
as she was sitting on the wrong (in this case on the right- 574
hand) side of the ring. Lelenoa is a *matapule* of Tungi, 551 554
and his proper place is on the left hand side of the ring. 576
Had the woman been sitting on that side the name, appar- 565
ently, would have been allowed to pass. *Matapule* names
may be transferred, but chiefs' titles may not.

In concluding this brief, and somewhat disjointed, 000
sketch of an important ritual, of which an adequate treatment would involve an examination of the whole structure of Tongan society, and of much beyond, I desire to thank many Tongan friends to whom I am indebted for information, and especially Ata.

The tabus relating to contact with the body of a superior are nat- 784
urally most marked in reference to high chiefs, but the respect paid 565
to chiefs seems to be part and parcel of the general social system, 576
throughout which the gradations of rank are well known.

The head and back are the most sacred portions of a chief's body. [826]
No one will touch the head of a superior nor pass close behind his
back without apology. In the case of a great chief he would not
pass there at all. In certain great ceremonial kava drinkings there 276
is a high chief who sits, not in the ring where the majority of the 574
chiefs have their place, called the *alofi*, but in the portion of the 576
ground where the kava is prepared, called the *toua*. But although 565
this chief is called the chief of the *toua*, he sits by himself at some
distance to the rear and side of the group who are brewing the drink,
so that all work in connection with the ceremony is performed without
anyone's passing behind him. So in the *alofi* the attendants as they
come and go always pass within the circle, before the chiefs, and
never outside, behind them.

Eating and drinking in the presence of a high chief of greatly 264
superior rank to oneself is tabu. A great chief himself may experi- 565
ence this inconvenience in the presence, e.g., of the king. This has 576
been noted by old voyagers, and an example came under my notice 554
within recent years. A white lady invited the late king of Tonga 643
and a couple of high chiefs to dinner. One of them was able to eat
freely in the presence of His Majesty, but the other, a robust young
man who might have been expected to own a healthy appetite, toyed
with his food in embarrassment. Afterwards he laughingly remon-
strated with his hostess for her unkindness in setting such an excel-
lent dinner before him in the presence of the king, where he was
unable to do justice to it. This tabu against eating in the presence
of a high chief may be overcome by retiring to a short distance and
turning the back to the great lord.

Leaving the matter of eating and drinking to return to respect to 565
the person of superiors, we find that if a chief be sitting with some 554
utensil close behind him which the people about wish to use, their 576
only hope is that the chief will himself notice their predicament and
tell someone to come and take what is required. Otherwise they

tioning the ailments of himself or of some other person, at last coming to a point where description languishes for lack of an outright term, the dreadfully blunt truth must be told, "Tabu to you," and the exact condition of a leg or an eye is detailed. Matters which are treated with great reticence by Europeans are discussed by mixed companies of Tongans with perfect freedom and complete absence of embarrassment. 784 576 753 521 565 [171]

INSTALLATION OF TUI KANOKUBOLU

No important ceremony is conducted without kava drinking, and in the preparation and serving of the kava is seen the flower of Tongan ceremonialism. Usages vary in the two great houses of the Tui Tonga and the Tui Kanokubolu. The modern consolidation of the kingdom has confirmed the power of the Tui Kanokubolu, and the office of Tui Tonga, although the higher in rank, has been abolished. In 1918 the present queen ascended the throne of her island kingdom with the title of Tui Kanokubolu, the title which was borne by her predecessors in the sovereignty of this now constitutional (on European lines) state. Besides a European crowning there was also an installation by the old kava ceremony. This was anciently performed at Kanokubolu, whence the title of Tui Kanokubolu (King of Kanokubolu) is derived. Kubolu is the same word as the Samoan Upolu, and legend asserts that this line is descended from a Samoan woman and a Tongan chief. Kano is a root found in words meaning "flesh," "body." The late Dr. Moulton renders Kanokubolu as "Heart of Upolu." In Kanokubolu the king used to be installed with his back towards a certain tree, and the ancient requirements have been met in modern practice by letting a piece of wood from the traditionary tree into the back of the throne. The water for brewing the kava was on this occasion brought by a great number of runners from a supply a short distance away. So freely and with such obvious intention was water spilt as to suggest a charm, but good Tongan authority asserts that the water was spilt so that each man might arrive at the bowl with but little, and that the whole proceeding might be marked by the maximum of bustle and activity on the part of as great a number as possible to show the numbers and 276 574 643 643 [642] 643 644 [173] 643 644 276 574

zeal of the queen's followers. The strainers (bunches of wild hibiscus 643
fibre) were provided by special groups whose prerogative it was, 644
and represented certain chiefly families. 276 574

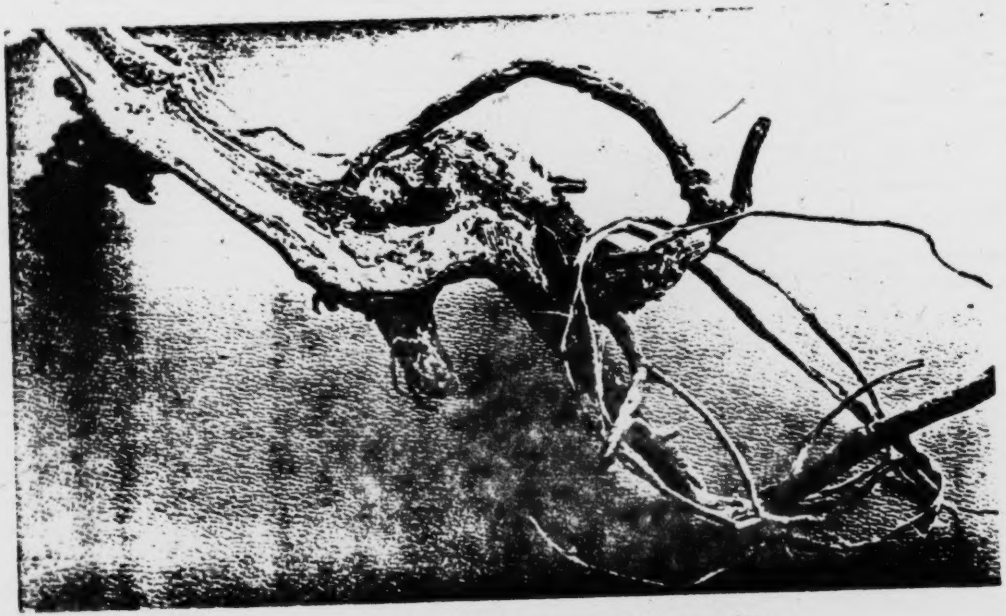
During the ceremony three conventional speeches were delivered 644
by three chiefs belonging to the Tui Kanokubolu group, who each 537
before speaking slid forward without rising, with two little jerks, 565
returning in the same manner to his place when his speech was finished. [516]
These speeches followed traditionary forms, and were exhortations to the Tui Kanokubolu and the people to do their duty to the Tui Tonga chiefs. The first referred to shell-fishing, the second to the bonito fishing, and the third to the fruits of the soil.

An interesting feature of these ceremonies was a man belonging 644
to a family which is connected with Fiji, who was decked out like a 643
Fijian warrior. He preceded the royal procession to the ground by 784
about a hundred yards or so, crouching and running and looking 576
about like an outpost spying out the enemy. When the queen was [276]
seated he violated all tabus and rules of ordinary decency by taking [264]
up his station near her, passing freely behind or before her, smoking whilst standing or lounging close beside her, and finally, when the pig's liver which is customarily offered to the chief on such occasions was put before the queen, he broke off a piece on the point of his spear and ate it in her presence.

The sanctity of the great chiefs is well illustrated in an interesting 643
native manuscript which was made available to me by the kindness of 784
the Hon. W. Tungi and Mr. E. W. Gifford. In these notes the 192
special words applied to the highest chiefs, the Tamaha and the Tui Tonga, are called the *tobutabu* insignia, the most sacred insignia. Since the institution of monarchy on the European pattern the Tui Tonga words are applied to the reigning sovereign.

FISHING

Industries have their own tabus. I have been told that formerly 784
a woman must not step over the green shoot of a sprouting yam, 824
though this is not now regarded, and young women of the present 241 562
generation whom I have questioned know nothing of it. It was also 784
tabu for anyone to step over a fishing net whilst it was being made. 226



Kava in Tonga is surrounded by long-established rituals. Photo (1) shows the *kava* root, from which the ceremonial drink of Tonga is made, and which, according to ancient custom, has long been and still is used as an offering on formal occasions. The *kava* plant from which it comes is widely cultivated in the Kingdom today for use in formal and informal affairs.

Ko e me'a fakafonua 'a e kava 'i Tonga. (1) 'Oku ha 'i he ta ko eni ha kata'i kava. 'Oku lahi foki 'a hono to e kava 'i Tonga he ngaahi 'aho ni, pea 'oku ngaue'aki ia 'i he ngaahi katoanga mo e faikava kehekehe.

[p.46-A]

276 *Kava,* which refers to the *piper methysticum*
[824] plant or to the drink made from its root, was
historically considered throughout Polynesia to be a
gift from the gods to the human race.[24] Thus the
ceremonial use of *kava* has always had religious
[782] significance. Traditionally in Tonga, *kava* was
frequently presented to the gods as an offering, or
to a chief on every formal occasion; it was also
imbibed in a solemn *kava* ritual at all ceremonies
(e.g. weddings, funerals, appointments to offices,
presentations of titles, etc.)[25]

[574] A formal *kava* ceremony in Tonga today, as of

[p. 46-B]

276 long ago, features circular seating of the participants
574 (predominantly men) in a prescribed order, with the person of highest rank at the head of the *kava* circle and directly opposite the *kava* bowl; other positions in the circle and the order of being served are
[178] reflective of each man's status. Informal *kava*
[565] drinking gatherings, which require no particular seating arrangement or ceremonial ritual, have
[517] become increasingly popular over the years under the less stratified, modern social system which has evolved, and are, in fact, a favorite pastime in Tonga at present.

[4,46-C]

2

[824] (2) Pounding the *kava* root, the first step (above) in the preparation of *kava* for drinking, is performed here by Tevita 'Ofa Helu. (3) After the crushed *kava* is placed in the *kava* bowl and water added (see next page), adept hands must wring and strain the *kava* mixture using hibiscus fiber *(fau)*. The *kava* is then ready to be served and drunk – currently from coconut half-shells, but in the past from cups skillfully made out of banana leaves.

[415] [178] (2) Ko hono tuki eni 'o e kava 'e Tevita 'Ofa Helu. (3) Ko hono tatau eni 'o e kava 'aki 'a e fau ('i he peesi hono hoko). Hili eni, pea inu leva 'a e hu'a kava 'aki e ngaahi ipu nge'esi niu. 'I he taimi fuoloa, na'e ngaue'aki e ngaahi ipu mei he lou'i siaine.

276
824

3

(4) A small *kava* ceremony during the construction of the new Wesleyan Church at 'Ohonua, 'Eua in early 1974. (Photo below)

276
574

(4) Ko he faikava eni (ta 'i lalo) 'i 'Ohonua, 'Eua, lolotonga e langa 'o e falelotu Uesiliana fo'ou ai. Na'e fai e ta ni 'i he konga kimu'a 'o e 1974.

4

[p.48]

men of enterprise who use a *pa* trap for catching fish sometimes sell their 621
catch to the villagers or to the people of Mu'a, the ancient capital of the 226
Kingdom lying 3 miles south of Nukuleka. 432

Eiki Tevita Leka

The high chief of Nukuleka is Tevita Leka, a *matapule* of the present 622
Queen. His family have been sailors of the Tui Tonga for generations. 173
There is a story about his ancestor. Long ago, a daughter of the Tui [643]
Tonga became pregnant, but did not disclose her lover's name. Getting [644]
angry, the Tui Tonga was going to kill her, when Haavea Leka, a
matapule of Ha'afeva island in Haapai, came in and asked permission to
take her with him to his own island. On departing, Haave asked the Tui
Tonga as a special favour to name the baby Leka and make him *toutai*,
a sailor, of the Tui Tonga, if the baby should be a boy. The Tui Tonga
later called the boy Leka back to Hu'a and made him a chief sailor of
the *kalia*, a double canoe, named Lomupeau.

The genealogical distance between this first Leka and the present
one is not clear, although Tevita Leka can identify six generations before
him. Many years ago, the Tui Tonga ordered Leka to reside in this [643]
village which was formerly called Nuku. The messenger from the Tui
Tonga to Leka often lost his way, for there were a number of places
named Nuku in Tonga. The name Nukuleka was then given to avoid the [103]
confusion.

Today Leka lives in the same way as an ordinary villager, working 622
his own *api tukuhau* of 8½ acres, and sleeping in a house thatched with [511]
plaited coconut leaves. But he is of the highest rank among the villagers [241]
and none is able to take a seat above him. Even in a church a chair is [342]
reserved for him beside the pulpit. As *matapule* of the Queen, he [554]
announces the order of the Queen to the villagers. He may ask the [796]
villagers to offer pigs, yams and *pola* (plaited coconut leaves used as a 622
food tray) piled with food cooked in the earth oven, on special occasions 644
like the birthday of the Queen or the two princes or on the feast to an [565]
honoured guest. Sometimes he visits the palace in the capital to serve [661]
the guest of the Queen. When the Queen visits other islands of the
Kingdom, he may follow her as his ancestor did. But his most important 796
duty as a *matapule* is to attend the *fai kava* given by the Queen which is 574
usually held on her birthday in the palace or in the open space in front 644
of the palace. The order of drinking *kava* is as follows; the Queen, 622
Lauaki, Motua paka, Noble Nuku, Noble Luani and Tevita Leka.[7] 565

In the village life Leka has a special role in catching the *ika faka* 622
fonua, literally 'the fish of the village". The *ika faka fonua* of Nukuleka 226
is the *matai*, a hammer-headed shark, that comes near the coast from
October to March. If the *matai* does not appear in this season, Leka [782]
goes to the graveyard to offer *kava* roots and to pray to his ancestor. This
prayer will be heard without fail. Anyone who sees a *matai* out to sea
calls "*Matai, Matai!*" when all the villagers gather on the beach, and men
both young and old sail out with sticks and paddles in their hands. As
soon as Leka hears the call of *matai* he hurries to his home. While they

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[7] This seat-ordering which Leka indicated is not different from the *kava* ring cited by Collocott. Collocott 1927: 28.

45: Aoyagi E-5 (1962-1963) 1966 OU9 Tonga OU9
Nukuleka

KINSHIP AND BEHAVIOUR IN A TONGAN VILLAGE

Grandparents and Grandchildren

602
603 No *tapu* is observed between the grandparents and grandchildren.
784 The latter may touch the head of the former and eat the balance of their
[264] food. An old man who lives with his daughter's family does not dictate
to his grandchildren at all, because it is their father's concern.

Brothers and Sisters

593 Brother and sister: The relationship between them is still an out-
784 standing feature of Tongan kinship. A number of *tapu* were referred
602 by the villagers. Brother and sister should respect (*faka-apaapa*) each
[291] other. They cannot see each other naked. At ten years of age, they
[513] have to sleep separately. A brother may enter the same room as the
[516] sister, but may not talk to her without sitting down. The sister may not
[521] come into the brother's room or hut except on a special occasion such as a
[764] funeral. They may not use each other's comb, bed, clothes or suitcase.
[264] They may take a meal together, must sit separately as far as possible, and
must not use tableware in common, but if it is washed it may be used.
[516] When the brother is beside the sister he may not eat while standing. They
[195] may not lie down where they are together. When addressed, the other must
[521] reply with *koau* politely. They may talk with each other except on such
topics as a quarrel or love. When the sister is talking with someone, the
brother should keep away from her lest he should overhear the conversa-
[585] tion about an obscene matter. Each may not attend the wedding and
[764] funeral of the other. They may not dance together. The brother may
[535] not join a circle of *kava* drinking in which his sister is asked to make *kava*.
[276] The sister may cook and wash for him, but not his underwear. When
[574] one is ill and there is no one else to care for the patient, the other may
[758] nurse, but must stay as aloof as possible from the patient. At parting,
one may shake hands or kiss the cheek of the other.

[264] Elder brother and younger brother: It is *tapu* for the younger brother
to eat the food the elder brother leaves over and to wear his clothes.

Elder sister and younger sister: *Tapu* of the same nature as between
the brothers are also found in the relationship between the elder and the
[846] younger sisters. When one is delivered of a baby, the other may take
care of her.

604 *Uncle, Aunt, Nephew and Niece*

602 Towards the parallel uncle and aunt who are denoted *tamai* and *fa'e*,
[601] the attitude is just the same as towards one's own father and mother. On
the other hand, an uncle (or aunt) loves his parallel nephew and niece
as well as his own children.

Paternal aunt (mehikitanga) and nephew and niece (fakafotu)

602
601 *Fakafotu* have to show much more respect to *mehikitanga* than to
784 the father. The maximum of *tapu* is still found in their relation. They
[276] may not smoke while she is near. On her funeral they may not stay in a
[764] room where the corpse is laid. *Fakafotu* may *kole* (ask) something, but
[601] will be called robbers if they take it away without her permission.

The father is privileged to choose the name giver for his children. 553
The first born baby, regardless of sex, is always named by the father's 602
relations, with a special preference to the father's sister, irrespective of 593
residence. Since the second and the subsequent children are inferior in 604
birth significanc to the first baby, the father may then grant a maternal
relative's desire to name a child.

VII — WEDDINGS AND FUNERALS

The rank of individuals among *famili* is emphasised on ceremonial 612
occasions such as weddings[21] and funerals. I will describe these ceremonial 554
procedures from the view-point of kinship behaviour. 585 764

A boy tells his love to a girl, and if she agrees, he will ask his parents' 128
consent. If they do, he or his father goes to an old man closely related to
him to ask his favour of becoming *matapule*. Then he with the boy 584
makes a formal visit, *faitohi*, to the girl's house, taking some *kava teletele* [276]
(big roots of *kava*). On *faitohi*, *matapule* tells her father that the boy [574]
eagerly wishes to marry the girl. When her father is ready to accept
their proposal, he consults with her elder brother or *ulu i famili* as soon
as possible. And if he agrees to the matter (and generally the *ulu i famili*
will not object), the people concerned confirm the girl's will. The
marriage is now arranged. The *kava teletele* brought by the *matapule* is [276]
prepared, around which the *matapule* and the girl's parents sit to drink. [574]
The first cup of kava is taken to the *ulu i famili* on the girl's side, the
second to the *matapule*, the third to anyone present. A few weeks later
after *faitohi* the wedding takes place.

In the afternoon of the day before the wedding-day, the boy's father 585
cooks *umu* and roast pigs to be given to the girl's family. At the sunset, [252]
the girl dresses up in formal wear such as *fihu, kei* (both, a kind of mat) [292]
and *ngatu* (bark cloth). Inside her house is nicely arranged, bark cloths [352]
and mats over the floor. Then the boy in formal dress comes with his [292]
followers. The *fakalelea mali* begins now. The bride and the groom
sit respectively on the laps of their *fa'e tangata*. Sometimes *fakafeangai*, 585
attendants, of the bride and the groom may sit beside them. On this 276
occasion the first *kava* cup is taken by the bride,[22] then by the groom. 574
If they do not want to drink, the *fakafeangai* may drink it in place of
them. Drinking *kava*, and eating *fono* (*kava* relish, such as bread, pork, [262]
and puddings of various kinds, etc.), they spend the time cheerfully
chatting until next morning. When *faikava* is nearly over, the bridegroom
and his followers take off their clothes to give them to the bride and her
family. Through excess of joy, sometimes, they strip themselves of even
their trousers and shirts. The bride's people bring bark cloths and clothes
to cover them. The bride also takes off her dress to give to the partner.

On the morning of the wedding, they go to the town for registration. 585
Usually they hire two motor cars which they decorate with *kie*. The bride
and the bridegroom ride separately with each of their *fa'e tangata*. Other

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[21] Collocott 1923: 221-4., Beaglehole 1941: 91-98., Koch 1955: 75-81.

[22] Collocott writes that the bride who is the chief of this occasion takes the third cup, that is the chief cup. A middle-aged woman told me that the first cup was the chief one.

585 relations and friends follow them in motor lorries. Having secured the
civil marriage licence from the office, they proceed to the church where
the religious ceremony is performed by the pastor. This ceremony should
be performed within two weeks after registration at the office. Other-
[435] wise, the civil marriage licence will be declared invalid. The registration
fee of 6 shillings is paid customarily by the bridegroom's family. Moreover, they pay 8 shillings in case of the Free Wesleyan Church and 2 shillings in other churches, but the fee is free in the Catholic Church. Parents of the new couple stay at each of their homes, making *umu* for the feast, *katoanga mali* which is to be held in this afternoon. On coming back to the village, the new couple rest at their own house for a while to change their clothes. Then the bride proceeds to the place of *katoanga mali* with her attendants who carry pigs, foods cooked in *umu*, bark cloths, mats and so forth. On her way the bridegroom may await her to march together to the banquet place. *Katoanga mali* is usually given at the house of the bridegroom or one of his relations . There mats and bark cloths have been already piled high. On the top of this piled bark cloth, the *fa'e tangata* sits down, on whose lap the bride takes a seat. Another *fa'e tangata* may sit in front of her to keep her feet up. The groom like-
585 wise sits on his *fa'e tangata*'s lap. *Faikava* begins now. The bridegroom
276 who takes off his long clothes to make *kava*, serves round the *kava* cup
574 following the order called by the *matapule*. Then the largest pig (*puaka*
264 *toho*) is cut and the dorsal part is laid in front of the bride. Suddenly
her father's sister or her daughter hits it, calling the name of a certain person. The nominee is entitled to eat it. This *faikava* does not last for a long time.

585 The things to be exchanged between the bride and groom's people are called *koloa*, which consists of bark cloth, mats, *kato alu* (basket made of *alu*), *kali hahapo* (a wooden pillow) and *kali toloni* (a wooden pillow). The *koloa* is the same for men and women, except *kali hahapo* and *kali toloni* which are not usually included in the *koloa* from the men.

After *katoanga mali* is over, the foods left over are divided by the two families. The bride's people go back to their home, leaving her behind alone. In the evening, her mother visits his house to have bark cloth and mats ready for making the bed for the bridal night.

For an observer who would like to collect the data from both sides of the couple, a marriage with both partners from the same villages would be the best to observe. Unfortunately in Nukuleka, a small village, intra-
[101] village marriage occurs seldom. Since I was able to know a better
example of an intra-village marriage in Longoteme village, a much larger
village, of the same island, I would like to have it described here for
[184] better understanding the kinship behaviour connected with it. Longoteme
is not significantly different from Nukuleka in the custom of marriage.

584 A boy (S) and a girl (K) were born in Longoteme. One day S told
582 his parents about his wish to marry K, but they were opposed to the
match because they thought that he was too young to marry and his elder brother had not married yet. S was nineteen years old and K sixteen at that time. S did not give up his idea, asking his younger sister to support him. At last she succeeded in persuading the parents for her brother.

11

brother. S asked a man (P) of next door as *matapule,* who was his 584
father's father's brother's son. On the Friday evening, P with S went to
K's house for *faitohi,* taking *kava teletele* and a can of biscuits which was
prepared by S's mother. K's father had expected their coming and told
that it depends on K's wishes. He called his classificatory brother T to
his house and explained the proposal. T also replied that she might do
as she pleased. Then K was called and asked her own wishes. She was
affirmative. Sitting at the corner of the house, S had been keeping silence
all the time. Then *faikava* started with *kava teletele* brought by *mata-* 584
pule P. *Kava* was prepared by K. Her parents, her sister, her *ulu i* 276
famili T, and *matapule* P attended the *faikava.* The cup was offered to 574
her *ulu i famili,* then to the *matapule.* During *kava* they talked and
settled several things. They decided not to exchange *koloa* between the
two families, but to give them to the young couple, and so on. The date
for the wedding had been already chosen by S and K on next Wednesday.

On Tuesday evening S's father made *umu* and brought it with fifty 585
loaves of bread to K's house. Afterwards, S proceeded with many of
his relations and friends to this house. His parents, who did not
accompany him, came to the banquet place just to peep into the inside of
the house and soon went back. Of course, the brothers of the bride as
well as the sisters of the groom were not allowed to join the meeting.
Kava was made by a girl, one of the groom's relatives. The bride was 585
seated on the lap of her mother's brother, Sona, who came from the next 276
village. The groom sat on the lap of his mother's mother's brother's son, 574
Ta. The first cup went to the bride and the next for the groom, but the
order of the subsequent cups was not remembered. The arrangement of
the seats was not fixed. A number of relations and friends sat round the
outside of the house, drinking *kava,* singing and dancing. The next morn- 585
ing after a sleepless yet joyous night the groom and Ta took off their
clothes, *ngafi ngafi* and *fihu,* and gave them to the bride. On the other
hand, the bride and Sona gave their dresses, *fihu* and bark cloth to the
groom. About noon, the party marched to Nuku'alofa for the registration, riding on two motor cars and motor lorries covered with *fihu.* The
bride with her *fa'e tangata* and the groom with his father's elder brother,
So. On their way back to the home village the newly married couple
rode together in the same car. The fee for those cars and lorries was
paid half and half by the fathers of the couple.

In the afternoon *katoanga mali* was held at So's place. The groom's 585
father made *umu* with many pigs including one *puaka toho,* most of 252
which were prepared by himself, but a few were offered by T and P
(*matapule faitohi*). The bride's father also made *umu,* cooking one
puaka toho, one *puaka hula* (a larger pig), and few *puaka haano* (a small
pig), all of which were prepared by himself. On the *faikava* at *katoanga* 585
mali T, who was a very old man and *ulu i famili* of the bridegroom's 276
father, acted as *matapule* to direct the order of *kava* cup. (Fig. 5). The 574
young couple sat on the laps of the same person as in the *fakalelea mali.*
The first *kava* cup went to the bride, the second to a man, her relative.
An elder sister of her father hit the *tua,* dorsal part, of *puaka toho* and
got it for herself.

8

bride's mother to share the pleasure with. She was also very much 585
pleased and gave another bark cloth to her daughter. The young couple 591
had been staying at his parents' house until they built their own hut in
the *api kolo* of his father's a few years later. Her parents eagerly wanted 844
to bring her back for her first delivery. The first son was born under [591]
her parental roof and the new mother spent there about three months for
her recuperation. On the day of its birth, her father made *umu*, includ- [603
ing one chicken and one pig; her mother gave the baby two mats (*fala* 431]
paongo and *fala tofua*) and two sheets of bark cloth (ten *langanga* and
five *langanga*); the husband's mother gave some napkins, mosquito net
and cloth.

Funerals

When a husband dies, his wife, mother or brothers wash his body 764
immediately. If the dead person is a women, her mother, sisters or 593
mother's sisters undertake this task, and her husband may help them. [604]
Children may touch their mother, but not their father. After they rub 764
the corpse with candle nut oil, they put on its clothes. Nowadays, a
white shirt is used as an inner wear, and it is wrapped round with bark
cloth called *vala lotu*, for which any kind of new bark cloth is used. Its
size is not uniform; four *langanga* is enough for a child and five to eight
langanga for an adult. This is prepared generally by those women to
whom the dead stands in a near relation, namely his wife, mother,
mother's sister and so on. Some bark cloths and mats are piled in the
middle of the house, on which the corpse wrapped with *valu lotu* is laid.
They cover the corpse again with *ngafingafi* and *kie* which is called *feta'u*.
Instead of these mats a piece of white silk may be used now as a covering
of a corpse.

Then, they send for a steward to lead prayer. Two or three *fahu*, [794]
that is *ilamutu*, of the dead, regardless of sex, takes seats close to the head [782]
of the dead. The seat-ordering among these *fahu* does not seem to be
strict. The family members and relations of the dead sit inside the room; [593]
when the dead is a man his children and sisters are excluded from the
room, and her brothers are excluded when a woman dies. After the
steward finishes his prayer, people express their condolence by turns,
weeping and kissing. The near relations offer *fihu* and bark cloth, and
the remote relations, friends and villagers deck the centre of the room
with a piece of cloth and garland. On this special occasion, the children
and sisters may kiss the corpse to bid farewell to the dead man, and the
brothers may do the same to the dead sister. As soon as they bid farewell,
they should leave the room and rest in a temporarily built shelter. All
day long people mourn and neighbours stand outdoors and sign hymns.
Liongi, that is younger brothers, *fa'e tangata* and those who are inferior
in rank to the dead person, have a lot of miscellaneous works to do, for
example boiling water and serving *topai* (a kind of dumpling in soup)
and tea to visitors. It is the *ulu i famili* who assigns them duties. Mean- 764
while, one of the *liongi* prepares *kava*, and men drink until next morn- 276
ing. The first cup should go to T. Leka, and the subsequent cup may go 574
to any present *matapule*.

15

764 The next morning, they take off the white cloth and *feta'u*, and wrap the corpse again with bark cloth of *launima*, named *kumifonua*. Further, they wrap it with all the mats and bark cloths they can afford and all the gifts the callers have given. When a coffin is not used, the corpse is wrapped with *kumifonua*, is put on a ladder shaped frame, (*fata*), and is then carried by men, six or eight consisting of distant relatives, to the graveyard. If the dead person is a man, a *fata* can not be carried by his younger brother and children, and if a woman, her brother can not touch it. Close relations would also not carry it. While others sing hymns, neighbours, friends and remote relations dig the grave and carry up white sand from the beach. When the funeral reaches the graveyard, the priest gives an oration. Then the coffin is lowered into the grave by remote male relations. The grave is filled with sand by those present. After burial, the *ulu i famili* makes a brief speech, expressing his thanks to the people at the cemetery and informing them of the feast if one is held.(24)
For the funeral feast, *pulua, fa'e tangata* and the sons of the deceased
make enough *umu* to distribute one basket of food to each attendant.
[276] Usually the last basket is presented to the *matapule*. Sometimes *pulua*
[574] is held on the same or sometimes on the following day of the funeral,
when *kava* drinking is occasionally arranged.

Years ago, *liongi* cut their hair to show their grief and even now
765 they do not dare to comb their hair for the same reason.(25) The family
[302] and close relations sit by the beautifully decorated grave for at least ten
[784] days. By this time, the *tapu* between brother and sister will be lifted,
[593] and the sister may tend the grave of her brother. Relations and villagers
[602] wear a big ragged mat for mourning, called *taovala putu* for ten days, but
[292] the family members of the deceased wearing it for nearly one year. For
these ten days, enjoying movies or beating bark cloth are not allowed for
the whole village. At the end of this period merry-making may be held
and the relatives from a distance return to their home village .

VIII — Some Concluding Observations on Ramification and Stratification

In the previous chapters, I have tried to describe the organisation
121 and behaviour of kinship found in a Tongan village today. As I mentioned at the outset of this paper, I do not intend to analyse it theoretically, but to depict it as descriptively as possible. My reason for choosing the latter approach is mainly because there is a scarcity of information.
114 'Tongan Society', by E. W. Gifford, which is quoted in many papers, is of course an excellent study, but there are some descriptions in his book that we are unable to find in a Tongan village today. I suppose this is because he collected his data mainly from the noble class, and also it is thirty years since his field survey.

613 The most important difference, it appears to me, is in regard to
114 *ha'a*. I have been unable to find it in Nukuleka village. Referring to
565 commoners, Gifford pointed out that "Some commoners are not aware

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24. According to Beaglehole *ha'a tufunga*, undertaker, presides over everything in the graveyard. But the villagers say that *ha'a tufunga* will be employed only in case of the chief's death.
25. Koch 1955: 88.

554 differentiated from every other brother does not exist in fact in the village.
621 But such rank is limited to the relative rank, strictly speaking, between
two persons concerned, and is not the absolute rank of the triangle of
hierarchy.

In my opinion, it looks both theoretically and practically impossible to integrate all the people of the community into the ramified structure for the following reasons:

554 (a) Generally, the union of a man and woman is not stable. It is
621 not unusual for a man to have children by several women and for a
586 woman to have children by several men. Consequently, an individual
587 may have a number of half siblings who share the same mother and at
593 the same time who share the same father. It must be difficult to integrate
all the siblings of the community as a whole in one alignment from the
highest to the lowest in accordance with the order of their birth.

554 (b) An individual often has a double relationship to another in-
621 dividual. For example, if 28 traces through his mother, the mother of
602 24 and 16 is his sister, but if 28 traces through his father, she is his father's
sister's son's daughter (see Fig. 3). In this case he may probably behave
towards her according to the direct relationship as brother and sister. But
what is the criterion to integrate all the villagers in one hierarchy for they
may have a double or triple relationship with one another?

554 (c) The sister is superior to the brother and her children to his
621 children. Consequently, a man (A) who marries a woman rises auto-
593 matically into a higher position than her brother (B). On the other
607 hand A can not hold up his head before a man (C) who marries A's
sister. Then in the relationship among these three men, C, is in the
highest rank while B is in the lowest. But it may well be that B is the
elder brother of C, or B's mother is C's father's sister. For these reasons
it is difficult to stratify all the descendants of one person into a single
ramified system.

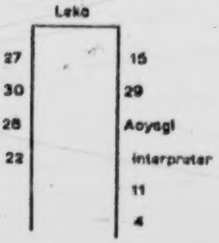
554 Anyway, there are three principles in regard to ranking; the elder
593 brother is higher than the younger brother; the sister is higher than the
brother; and the husband is higher than the wife. These principles
may sometimes offset each other. So each individual has a double rank;
this one is higher than that, but this may be lower than that. Even if
a person is the direct descendant in the senior line of a common ancestor,
his rank is not always paramount. At the same time a descendant from
622 a remote collateral is not necessarily the lowest. Leka occupies, in fact,
621 the supreme position in the community. This seems to be so because he is
554 *eiki* (chief) and *matapule* of the Queen, not because he belongs to the
428 senior line of the kinship; he is the second son of his father Tevita Leka,
848 whose first son may be an illegitimate son, and this first son's daughter's
sons are 16 and 24.

554 As described in the latter half of this paper, the relative rank of
593 individuals is quite important in Tongan family. The behaviours of kin
602 are precisely defined, and expressed overtly on the ceremonial occasions.
585 In *kava* drinking at weddings, the first and the second cups were taken by
276 particular persons, but no one remembers who got the subsequent cups.
574

This fact suggests partly that there is no system into which all the people 554
who were gathering at the circle recognised. 593

While I was staying there, I happened to be invited to a feast at the 602 276
end of the year given by the second son of Pualiki, at which most of the 585
villagers were present. The following Fig. 6 is the table showing the 574
seat arrangement. People took their seats around the long *pola* (food 574
tray made of coconut leaves). Leka sat in the front of the *pola*, on either [123]
side of which the officers of the church sat down. The other people, I
was told, might sit down freely anywhere. Among the ten persons, namely 574 576
Leka and the church officers, 27 belongs to the Free Church of Tonga, 795
15 to the Mormons, 11 to the Catholic, and all the rest are the members 554
of the Free Wesleyan Church. The speech at this feast was given by 554 574
Leka, first, followed by 15 (*matapule* of the Queen), 1, Pualiki's wife, 30 576
(town officer) and 29. In spite of the fact that 11 is the elder brother of [537]
15 and 15's *ulu i famili*, his seat is lower in the seat order than 15's. It
is also incomprehensible why 11 who is a steward of the Catholic Church
took such a low seat compared with the *malanga* of the other churches who
were invited to the places of honour.(30) From 30 to 32 are all *malanga* [561]
of the Free Wesleyan Church who sat in order of the age. Whereas 29
is young, he is highly respected by people as a steward of the Free
Wesleyan Church and always occupies a seat next to Leka in the meeting
of church members.(31) In short, the internal rank of the villagers based 574
on the kinship structure was not reflected in the feast at all, but the 554
rank in the church such as *malanga* and *faifekau* was highly esteemed, 621
and one's age or administrative or honourable status such as town officer 794
or *matapule* were considered among those *malanga* and *faifefau*.(32) It is 561
easy to see that the *malanga* of the church took the places of honour [796]
because this feast which was given as a church function was dedicated to
God. Nevertheless, this was the only occasion in which an outsider could
know the rank of the villagers.

FIG.6 Seat-ordering at a *fakaafe*



[123]

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30. Professor Newell suggested to me that the antagonism between Catholics and Protestants may explain this in part. [798]

31. For instance, in *fakaafe* hosted by no. 28 on the day of Christmas nos. 6 (Leka), 5 and 30 (town officer) seated along one side of the *pola* in this order. On the other side of it no. 29 seated facing No. 6.

32. For example, in *fono*, village council, the villagers gather to sit choosing any place around the town officer who conveys the Government instruction. [623]

621 794 session for members of the church choir. In addition to these weekly-recurring activities, on the afternoon of the first Saturday of each month there is a discussion-group meeting for each of the three classes of adult members (men of the category of 'priest', men and youths who are not priests, and the members of the women's auxilliary), and about once a month on a Saturday evening there is a social evening (dancing, costume party, movie, or some other performance).

In the Free Wesleyan Church, there are church services for the entire congregation three times on Sundays (although few members of the congregation attend all three services), and services again on Monday afternoons and Tuesday and Friday mornings (see Table 20). On Wednesday afternoons there is a service for women only. And besides services, Sunday school, and choir practice, there are a number of other regularly-scheduled activities that take place on Sundays. About an hour before the mid-morning service, the men of the congregation in Motulahi gather informally at the home of the steward to drink kava and [276] talk about current events. After the mid-morning service, [574] the men who have the status of malanga (lay preacher) participate in a formal kava circle at the home of one of the members of the congregation.[5] This is the prelude to

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[5] Pratt (1922) gives a description of this activity which I found very similar to what I observed in 1969-70.

562 do not necessarily associate with members of their own
517 883 denomination; instead, they spend most of their leisure
[526] time in the company of others of their age. During the
winter football season they are fully engaged in the
activities of the village football club, and in the
summer they serve as cheering sections to the girls'
[571] basketball teams. They also do a lot of *'eva pē* ('just
going around') away from their home village, seeking scope
for their courting activities.

562 885 Ordinarily, however, by his late twenties a young
[582] man has married and begun to settle down. From then on,
[794] the time that he spends outside his own household but away
[276] from income-producing activities is almost entirely spent
[574] in the company of other adult males of his congregation,
often at a kava-drinking circle that meets at the home of
794 one of the group.[7] This is especially true of members of
562 Motulahi's Free Wesleyan congregation, which is a large
574 276 enough congregation to sustain a kava group that meets
almost daily at the home of the man who serves as steward
794 of the congregation. A man also prefers to cooperate in
562 476 economic activities beyond his own household with members
of his own congregation (possibly because this provides a
sanction for their acting in good faith). For example, I

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[7] Beaglehole gives an excellent account of kava activities in village life (1941, 112-123).

575 the field, after having been in existence for about seven
months, as there was no longer enough regular work for
575 everyone. Village football associations disband at the
526 end of each rugby-football season. The same is true of
the three neighborhood basketball associations in Motulahi.
These re-form from year to year, with some members joining
575 a different club the following season. Most kava-drinking
276 clubs have an even briefer span of existence; few last
more than two or three months.[14]

575 In summary, local voluntary associations are rela-
tively short-lived groups that come into existence for the
pursuit of limited goals that are in the personal interest
[563] of members of the association. In contrast to these
groups, other voluntary associations in Tonga that do not
have these features, such as the Tongan Red Cross and the
Tongan Family Planning Association--both of which are
conspicuously lacking in well-defined goals--have had
little impact outside Nuku'alofa and receive most of their
support from the expatriate European community.[15] Even

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[794] [14] In this respect, the long-standing informal association of men who gather almost daily at the home of the steward of the Free Wesleyan congregation, constitutes an exception that proves the rule. This group, while it is not formally constituted by the Free Wesleyan Church, would not be called a kautaha. It is similar to a kava club in some ways, but is significantly different in that it is an unofficial adjunct of the congregation.

[15] This statement about these associations, while it is true as of the time of my fieldwork, may no longer be true.

554

in Tongan history. The foundation of the *ha'a* system, therefore, is a 613
geneological charter that establishes claims to high rank based on 565
geneological proximity to the descent line of the sacred kings of Tonga.
The system is centred around a type of formal ceremony—the *taumafa* 613
kava or kava-drinking ceremony—whose primary function is to demonstrate
the relative rank of the chiefly titles. As Gifford says: "the formal 565
drinking of kava has perhaps its most important social aspect in the 276
visualisation of the rank of the participants through the seating and through 574
the order of serving."(16) In giving expression to rank, the ceremony serves 554
to affirm not only the high rank of the participants, but also that of other
persons who are closely associated with the titles.

An assertion of *ha'a* membership is by its nature also a claim to 613
high rank in Tongan society. It is worth asserting membership, since high 565
rank confers certain privileges. In modern Tonga, these privileges have
relatively little material component for those who are not incumbents of 554
noble titles or their closest relatives, but a person of high rank will always [576]
get a better place at a feast than a person of lower rank, and high rank is
still good for deference in Tongan society.

Ha'a membership comprises the incumbent titleholders and those male 613
and female descendants of former incumbents who have a claim to 611
geneological seniority. Seniority and membership, however, are not
reckoned in the male line only, for affiliation with a *ha'a* is "optative";(17) 565
that is, there is choice in affiliation as regards membership, through male
or female. The greater emphasis, however, is on descent in the male line,
especially with regard to succession to a title when, all things being equal,
a titleholder is succeeded by the eldest of his legitimate sons. While 613
membership in a *ha'a* implies high rank, the personal rank associated with 565
a title is a varying quantity. In Tonga, an individual's rank is based on
that of both his mother and his father; thus, the personal rank of the 554
holder of a particular title is not constant from one generation to the
next.(18) According to one view of marriage among Tongan aristocrats,
"increasing the rank of one's descendants was the ultimate goal";(19) 613
a new titleholder might well bring to the title the added prestige of high 554
maternal rank. Among those not heirs to a title, a person whose mother 565
is of higher rank than his father might have a claim to higher rank in the 557
ha'a of his mother than in that of his father, and in such a case might [581]
assert his membership in his mother's *ha'a* rather than his father's. Other 613
persons might completely drop out of the *ha'a* system because their
claim to rank is no longer worth asserting, for persons of relatively low 565
rank have no place in the system although their kin ties to individuals [554]
of high rank are recognised in other contexts.(20) The point is not only

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16. Gifford 1929:157.
17. Firth 1957.
18. Bott gives a full analysis of the relationship between traditional titles, political power and personal rank.
19. Bott 1972:219.
20. This is a point where the modern situation may be different from the traditional [178]
in that today there is relatively little connection between *ha'a* affiliation and access [423]
to land, which may not have been the case in earlier times.

and group relations must be distinguished from 'natural' principles of 121
status allocation based on such factors as personality, sex, and age,
which appear in all societies. However, in certain highly stratified
societies such as India and Ruanda, culturally defined categories of
rank are claimed to be pervasive in structuring interpersonal relationships,
including the widely noted higher status of elders to the young,
of men to women, and of strong-willed to weak-willed individuals.
Whether or not individuals in these societies are necessarily more 'rank
conscious' in an absolute sense than individuals in societies without
elaborate ideologies of rank is a question that cannot be answered here.

Conditions in the modern kingdom of Tonga, the only remaining 565
Polynesian kingdom in a region that has been culturally typed for the
prevalence of its highly stratified societies (Sahlins, 1963), depart in 554
some ways from the view which posits the permeation of both interand
intra-class interactions with concerns for status differentiation in
terms of a given ideology of rank. Research focussed on Tongan village
life has not discovered a predominantly hierarchical quality in the everyday
interactions among commoners. Neither the Beagleholes, who 565
studied a small village of commoners in the Vava'u region of Tonga
(Beaglehole, 1941), nor Aoyagi, who studied a village on the main 554
island of Tongatapu (Aoyagi, 1966), emphasized the hierarchical quality 114
of village life. Quite to the contrary, Aoyagi noted the absence of
internal stratification in the village that she observed. My own material 565
from fieldwork in the village of 'Uiha in the Ha'apai region of Tonga 554
confirms the view that there is as much equality as hierarchy in the [101]
observed daily interactions among commoners.[2] I had expected the organization
of casual groups within the village, especially the organization 571
of work groups, to be governed by principles of status differentiation, 565
borrowed conceptually from the principles that govern interactions 554
within Tongan kin groups and between social classes, but I did not
find this connection. For example, there is a striking contrast in the 571
behavior of commoner participants in the daily, recreational *fai kava*,
in which kava drinking and conversations are conducted in a relaxed 565
atmosphere where distinctions of status are difficult to perceive, and 276
in the formally ritualized *'ilo kava*, in which the noble or his represen- 574
554

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[2] I lived for 2½ months on the island (and village) of 'Uiha during the summer
of 1972. I spent shorter periods of time in the capital, Nuku'alofa, and
touring the main island of Tongatapu. I worked almost entirely in the Tongan
language. Since the scope of this paper is broader than a community study, [122] —
my constructs are based upon my own data and reading of published literature.

53: Marcus E-4,5 (1972) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9
Ha'apai
'Uiha

571 tative is present and in which all interactions are structured in terms
565 of demeanor and deference.

276 This is of course not to say that questions of rank and status determination
574 are not important in Tongan social behavior. Rather one
554 must try to establish the loci in social life where consistent principles
of rank and status determination are important, and not important,
554 instead of being satisfied with facile claims that *all* social interactions
565 in societies with elaborate ideologies of stratification are dominated by
121 concerns with rank. Kaeppler's reanalysis of Tongan principles of rank
is an important first step in attempting to distinguish the context
565 of Tongan society in which an interest in status determination is a
114 dominant element in the content of social relations (Kaeppler, 1971).
Although she begins by claiming that "all interpersonal relationships in the island kingdom are governed by principles of rank ..." (Kaeppler, 1971, p. 174), she recognizes in her critique of Aoyagi that the Tongan village is not a microcosm of Tongan society and that a consideration of the importance of rank must be viewed in terms of rank within kin groups and between social classes. In addition, Kaeppler demonstrates that village studies alone do not provide an adequate understanding of the multidimensional contexts in which concerns with status differentiation operate in Tongan social relations.

Focussing on interactions within the commoner class in Tonga,[3] this
121 paper will approach the problem of examining the importance of rank
in everyday life by defining two alternative sets of structural arrangements for every adult individual in Tongan society, which although interdependent, are governed by different concerns with status deter-

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121 [3] I lived in a community the noble of which was absent and thus observed
predominantly commoner social interactions. Much of the previous work on
123 Tonga is characterized by a fascination with the social and cultural life of
565 Tongan nobility, and there is a need to understand social arrangements at the
bottom of the class structure. In fact, it is possible to attribute the extreme
114 'permeation' view of ideologies of rank, which this paper attempts to modify,
to the predominant attention that analysts have paid to rituals and customs
554 of high status groups. For example, previous studies of highly stratified societies attribute intra-class or horizontal rankings to concepts originating in inter-class or vertical rankings (see Maquet, 1961; Goldman, 1970). There is no general justification for establishing a relationship of dominance of vertical over horizontal domains of ranking even though both domains may share some common features in the way that rank is expressed. In this paper, it is only necessary to demonstrate that kinship and class domains share some common principles of expressing rank without concern for the dominance of domains, a question that may appear and needs an answer only when one's perspective is from the top down in the analysis of a hierarchical system.

53: Marcus E-4,5 (1972) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9
Ha'apai
'Uiha

aware of the exact societal significance of the noble title to which they 565
are associated, they still have a keen sense of honor carried for them by 621
the title-holder. Still, the title-holder is not one of them, although he may
have been before succeeding to the title. Rather, he operates in and
becomes part of a different domain of social life in which commoners [276]
have no part other than in the representation of their honor through [574]
the noble, i.e. the domain of kingship and royalty expressed most vividly
in the *taumafakava* or kava ceremony of the Tu'i, his *matāpules*, and
the nobles.

The various types of kava-drinking situations and the rituals associated 276
with them are the key to the contemporary preservation of
traditional aspects of Tongan social structure.[9] Kava-drinking is a highly 574
ritualized remnant of ancient Tongan customs, most of which were swept [178]
away with the virtual replacement of the important indigenous religious
belief systems and related ritual by Christianity. The differences in *fai* 276
kava (among commoners), *'ilo kava* (with a noble present), and a
taumafakava (with the Tu'i present) reflect, and are a visual manifestation 574
of, Tonga's class structure. One's rank in the class structure is 565
seen by the observer in the hierarchical rituals of the various levels of kava-drinking. The ritual and symbolic superiority of the noble over his people is most striking in the *'ilo kava* ceremony both to the analyst and the indigenous informant on the village level.

In sum, the centrifugal force of the family estate on village residents 621
is currently a major factor responsible for the erosion of the traditional 565
supports for the noble's *de facto* prerogatives and influence in the community. 612
People who are interested in the development of their dispersed
estates, which may eventually be a means for their own social mobility, [554]
are less likely to be interested in the honor and status that they gain in the traditional system through the person of the title-holder. To the extent that this is true, the actual authority of nobles, at least in the

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[9] For previous discussions and descriptions of kava-drinking ceremonies in [114]
modern Tonga see Gifford, 1929, pp. 156-170; Beaglehole, 1941, pp. 112-122; Newell, 1947; Collocott, 1927; and most recently, Bott and Leach, 1972. These authors (except Beaglehole) concentrate largely on the highly ritualized kava-drinking ceremonies of the king and nobles. There is as yet no adequate ethnographic account of the commoner *fai kava*. This is an excellent example of how fascination with noble customs can lead to an overemphasis on the permeation of concern with rank in all institutions and within all classes. As I suggest here, the commoner *fai kava* is permeated much more with the egalitarian ethic of the *fonua* than with the hierarchical ideology of the societal class system.

of Captain Furneaux.[1] They brought each of them a hog and some 648
yams as a testimony of their friendship and I was not wanting on my 643
part in making them a sutable return.

At length about 2 PM we arrived at our intended Station, being a [431]
very snug place formed by the shore of Tongatabu on the SE and two 122
small islands on the East and NE: here we anchored in 10 fathom
Water over a bottom of owsey sand, distant from the shore one third
of a mile.[2] Soon after we had Anchored, I landed accompaned by 648
Omai and some of the Officers, we found the King waiting for us on
the beach, ready to conduct us to a small neat house, situated a little [643]
within the skirts of the woods with a fine large area before it; this [342]
house the Cheif told me was at my service during my stay and a
better situation we could not wish for. We had not been long in the
house before a pretty large circle of people were assembled before us
and seated on the Area. A root of the Cava plant was brought and [276]
laid down before the King, he ordered it to be split into pieces and
given to several people, men and women, to chew and a bowl of [574]
liquer was presently prepared. In the mean time a baked hog and
two baskets of baked yams were brought and afterwards divided into [264]
ten portions, each of these portions were given to certain people
present but how many each was intend[ed] for I could not tell, one
was sent to the Kings brother and one remained which I judged was
for himself as it was a choise bit. The liquor was next served out, but 648
the King seemed to give no directions about it;[3] the first cup was 643
brought to him, he ordered it to be give[n] to one who sat near him,
the second was brought him which he kept, the third was brought 276
me, I gave it to Omai for their manner of brewing had quenched my 574
thirst;[4] the rest was served out to different people by direction of the

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[1] We have no prior record of this friendship: the Tupou's are becoming rather confusing. Tupoulahi was the name of the last Tu'i Kanokupolu, and as Gifford writes (*Tongan Society*, p. 88), 'The frequent use of the name Tupou for the Tui Kanokupolu's relatives makes identification as difficult as with the Tui Tonga's relatives with whom the name Fatafehi was equally common'.

[2] The anchorage was in the harbour of Nuku'alofa, the present capital town of Tonga. Cook's description points to a spot in its eastern bight, almost two miles east of the existing pier. The 'shore of Tongatabu on the SE' was the arm of land, the northern side of the lagoon, which ends in the point called Holeva ('Observatory Point' on the engraved chart)—no doubt the 'uncultivated point' mentioned as 'our station', pp. 134–5 below—and the detached island Nukunuku. The small island to the east was 'Oneata, though it is not the only islet in that direction; that to the north-east was Pangaimotu ('Pangymaudoo' in Cook's paragraph below). This position is still recommended as the best for shelter and holding ground in the summer months, which is also the hurricane season; so the Tongans who directed Cook knew what they were doing, even though the month was June.

[3] Because he did not need to—except as Cook goes on to note his first direction as to a recipient—the ceremony being so much one of settled ritual. How strict the ritual was, at a formal kava-ceremony, and all its details, may be found from a study of the long description in Mariner, II, pp. 150–67.

[4] But, as Mariner points out, the Tongans were an exceedingly clean race, and only [123]

648 man who had the management of it. A Cup was carri'd to the Kings
643 Brother, with which and his victuals he retired, as did some others
also, and the reason was they could neither eat nor drink before the
276 King; but there were others of a much inferior rank who did both.[1]
574 Soon after the most of them retired, each carrying with them what
victuals he or she had not eat. It is necessary to observe that not one
648 4th part of the Company had either Victuals or drink and some had
643 one and not the other: those who had the Victuals I took to be of the
276 Kings household. The Servants who served out the Victuals and
574 Cava always delivered it out of their hand siting, not only to the
King but to every other person. And altho this was the first time of
644 our landing, and a great many people present who had never seen
264 us before yet no one was troublesome, but the greatest good order
648 was Observed throughout the whole. Before I went on board I was
shewed some pools or holes of fresh Water as they were pleased to
call it; the Water in one was indeed tolerable but it was some distance
Wed. 11 in land and but little of it. The next morning I went over to the
312 island of *Pangymaudoo*,[2] near which we lay, to look for Water being
told there was some there; I was conducted to a small Pool that was
tolerable and had it cleaned out and here it was we watered the
122 Ships. As I intended to make some stay here I got all the Cattle a
shore,[3] a party of Marines with the officer for a guard, set up the
observatory and Mr King resided a shore to attend the observations
and superintend the several works carrying on there, for I had the

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[648] young persons who had clean mouths and good teeth were allowed to take part in the
chewing. This was not a prolonged process, and the masticated root was kept dry. What
[643] Cook calls 'brewing' was really infusing. He was not always put off by the sight of the
process. 'Captn Cook often drank of it, holding it as an argument that seamen should eat
[276] & drink every thing that came in their way, some of our Officers follow'd ye good example
[574] set them, I must acknowledge either my want of taste or politeness for I could by no means
be brought to taste it in a mixture, contenting myself with taking it in ye manner of ye
slaves, the least piece put in ye mouth fills it with an instant glowing heat, it is nearest in
[129] taste to ye horse-radish of any thing I can recollect.'—Williamson, 17 July.

[1] '... what at first appears singular, is, that although neither his brother nor any great
chiefs can eat before him, yet his own attendants do & sometimes with him, this cannot be
suppos'd to degrade his dignity & lessen it, as they are not exalted sufficiently to claim any
[563] libertys he does not chuse to grant.'—King, 7 June. The reason for this exception to the
general eating rule was probably that those who were favoured were, as Cook says below,
'of the Kings household'—that is, they were *matapule*, and also *matapule* of foreign origin.
The inconvenience of the eating *tapu*, and other varieties of *tapu*, carried to an extreme of
consistency with personal attendants, might well be very great, but one who was rankless in
any Tongan connection was exempt. Thus Hoakai (Samoan Soakai?) 'a matapule
to the Tui Tonga, was privileged to eat with the Tui Tonga, a thing which no Tongan
might do' (Gifford, p. 141).

[131] [2] Pangaimotu. It is a small island, less than a square mile in area and 15 feet high, 2¼
miles north-east of Nuku'alofa.

[3] '... they were much surprizd at our Cattle and called them Boaha,la,hi; which
[825] signifies, large Hogs. ...'—Gilbert. The Tongan expression is *puaka lahi*. I have been told
that the Tongans still refer to cattle and other livestock as 'Cook's pigs'.

312 first were mostly in land and the latter by the shore of the Lagoon
and for the most part below high water mark, so that to have the
water tolerable it must be taken up at low water.

648 When we returned from our walk, which was not till the dusk of
the evening, our supper was ready, it consisted of a baked hog some
262 fish and yams all excellent well cooked after their own method. As
513 there was nothing to amuse us after supper we followed the Custom
of the Country and laid down to Sleep, our beds was a large piece of
Cloth spread on the floor. The King slept in the same house as well
521 as several others. Long before day break they rose and sat chating by
Moon light till it was day light; the conversation, as might well be
expected, turned wholy on us, the King entertaining the Company
Frid. 27 with an account of what he had seen. As soon as it was light they all
512 went away, some one way and some a nother, but it was not long
before they returned and with them several more. They now began
648 to make a bowl of Cava at which I left them to pay a Visit to Toobough
Captain Furneaux's friend, who had a house hard by, which
276 for size and neatness was exceeded by few in the place. As I had left
the others so I found here, a company preparing a Morning draught.
[431] This Chief made me a present of a living hog, a baked one, a quantity
of yams and a large piece of Cloth.

When I returned to the King I found the company drinking the
276 second bowl of Cava. When it was out the King told Omai he was
765 going to perform a Mourning ceremony for a Son which had been
dead some time and desired we would acompany him. We were
643 glad of the oppertunity expecting to see some thing new or Curious.
[292] The first thing the Chief did was to step out of the house, attended by
two Women, and put on a new sute of Cloathes, or piece of Cloth,
and over it an old ragged mat that might have served his great grand
Father on some such like occasion: his Servants or those who attended
him were all dressed in the same manner, excepting none of
[824] them having quite so ragged a Mat round them as their master.[1] Thus
equiped we marched off preceded by about eight or ten persons all
dressed in the same manner and with each a small green branch
about his neck. The King held his in his hand till we drew near the
place of rendezvouse when he tied it about his neck also. Thus we
entered a small inclosure, in which was a small neat house and one
[824] man seting before it. As they entered they pulled off the green
branch from round their necks and threw them away. After the King
was seated the others seated them selves in the usual way before him;

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[1] This was the *ta'ovala*, still worn as a sort of sash-apron; the raggedness was not for normal wear, but a sign of mourning.

afterwards more came droping in to the number of a hundred or up- 765
wards, mostly old men and all dressed as above discribed. As soon as
they were all come in a large root of Cava, brought by one of the 643
King's Servants was produced, and a bowl which held at least four
or five gallons; several person went to chewing the root and this bowl 765
was made brim full of the liquor, and several Cups were made of the 643
Plantain leafe while it was preparing.

The first Cup was given to the King which he ordered to be given 276
to another, the Second was brought him which he drank and the 574
third was offered me. Afterwards as each Cup was fill'd the person [415]
who filled it asked who was to have it, and a nother named the person
and to that person it was carried; thus they continued till the bowl
was emptied which was before half the Company was served, yet no
one seemed dissatisfied. As the bowl grew low the person who had the
desposal of the liquor seemed rather at a loss to whom he should send
the Cups of liquor to and frequently consulted those who sat near
him. About half a dozen cups served the whole company, each as it
was emptied was thrown down upon the ground where the waiters
picked up and carried it to be filled again. They sat as usual with a
great deal of gravity and hardly spoke to each other the whole time.
All this time did we wait with some impatience, in expectation of
every minute seeing the Mourning ceremony begin; when soon after
the Cava was drank out, to our great surprise and disapointment they
all rose up and dispersed and the King told us he was ready to attend
us to the Ships. If this was a Mourning ceremony it was a strange
one, perhaps it was the second, third or fourth Mourning, or what
was not very uncommon Omai might have misunderstood them; for
excepting the ceremony of the green branch, there was nothing in
this meeting but what we saw every day.[1] But be what it would as soon 122
as it was over we set out to return to the Ship. As we rowed down the
Lagoon or inlet we met with two canoes coming in from fishing, the 425
Chief ordered them to be called along side and took from them every 643
fish and shell they had got, he afterward brought to two others and
searched them but they had nothing; why this was done I cannot
say as we had plenty of Victuals in the boat; some of this fish he
after wards gave to me and some his servants sold on board the ship.
As we proceeded down the Inlet we overtook a large sailing Canoe, 648
every person in her that were upon their legs when we came up
with her sat down till we were past, even the Man who steered,
altho he could not manage the helm in any other position but stand-
ing. Having been informed that there was some good Water on 312

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[1] It was in fact the mourning kava ceremony.

farther than this island, nor were they in the possession of any but 251
the Chiefs.

177
We were now ready to sail, but as the wind was easterly we had Sun. 6
not day light to turn through the narrows with neither the Morning 122
nor evening flood, the one falling out too early and the other too Mon. 7
late; so that without a leading wind we were under a necessity of
waiting two or three days. I took the oppertunity of this delay to 651
be present at a public ceremony, which was to be on the 8th and to
which the King had invited us. He and all the people of note left us 796
on the 7th and repaired to M[oa] where it was to be performed. A
party of us in two boats followed them the next morning and got to Tues. 8
the place about 8 oclock. We found the King with a large Circle
before him within a small dirty inclosure, such a one as I thought had
not been in the whole place. They were as usual making a large bowl [276]
of Cava, and as this was no liquer for us, we walked out to visit some
of our Friends and to see what was going forward without. About 10
oclock the people began to assemble in a large Area which is before
the great house we were conducted to the first time we visited this
Village.[1] At the end of a lane opening into this place were some Men
with Spears & Clubs in their hands, some of them stood up and con-

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were from an Island call'd Fidgee; they are yet great curiosities & only in the possession of the Chiefs.'—King, 20 June.

[1] The ceremony which Cook goes on to describe is one for which Anderson picked up
the name 'natche'—Mariner's 'inachi', modern *'inasi*. Writers after Cook, starting with 651
Mariner, are unanimous that what Cook witnessed was the great *'inasi* ceremony also
described by Mariner (II, pp. 168–73), a sort of harvest festival. The word, says Mariner, 796
meant literally 'a share or portion of any thing that is to be, or has been distributed out;
but, in the sense here mentioned, it means that portion of the fruits of the earth, and other 643
eatables, which is offered to the gods in the person of the divine chief Tooitonga, which
allotment is made once a year, just before the yams in general are arrived at a state of 644
maturity; those which are used in this ceremony being of a kind which admit of being
planted sooner than others, and, consequently, they are first fruits of the yam-season.'
They were planted late in June. The ceremony seems to have been held about October.
But Cook's ceremony was early in July, too early for 'first fruits', and as he goes on to
remark, a number of his ceremonial yams were 'emblematical'. Anderson, and perhaps
others, were linguistically learned enough after their stay in Tonga not to be misled too
much, and it seems therefore that he and Cook were right in thinking that the central
part of this particular *'inasi* was the 'share' of the Tu'i Tonga's son, the 'young Prince', a
sort of coming of age ceremony; possibly something to do with puberty. Or Cook's theory
of an 'Oath of Allegiancy' to the Prince may have something in it. According to H.M. the
late Queen Salote, his mother, Tupoumoheofo, was forceful enough to get the boy
appointed Tu'i Tonga while his father was still living, in spite of Paulaho's objections—the
only instance of such a thing in Tongan history. The ceremony might then have been one
of installation. (This interesting hypothesis I owe to Miss Dorothy Crozier.) Whatever the
truth of the matter, it is unfortunately impossible to interpret in detail the proceedings
recounted by Cook. The *'inasi* ritual seems to have broken down in the unsettled period in
Tongan politics at the end of the eighteenth century: Mariner writes (pp. 167–8), 'Although the ceremony of *inachi* was entirely abrogated by Finow just before Mr. Mariner
left Vavaoo, we place it first in rank, because it always used to be considered of the utmost
importance before it was done away with; besides which, it was a ceremony which affected
the property of every individual in Vavaoo, and all the Hapai Islands, and formerly in the
Island of Tonga also'. It must therefore have gone first in Tongatapu. The Hon. Ve'ehala,

513 night.[1] One would at first think this would produce the Contrary
643 effect to what is intended but it is not so, for it creates a very agreeable
and pleasing sensation. Omai and I now went to visit the Prince
644 who parted from us early in the evening, for he did not lodge with
the King but in apartments of his own, or such as had been alloted
him some distance from his Fathers; we found him with a Circle of
Boys or youths like himself before him, and an old Woman and an
old man who seemed to have the care of him siting behind; there
were others both men and Women who seemed to make a part of his
household, that were employed about their necessary affairs in different
648 apartments. From the Prince we returned to the King, by this
time he was up and had a crowded Circle before him, composed
643 chiefly of old men; while a large bowl of Cava was preparing a
276 Baked hog and yams Smoaking hot was brought in, the greatest part
264 of which fell to our share, that is to the boats crew, for these people
eat very little in a Morning and especially the Cava drinkers. I afterward
512 walked out and visited several other Chiefs and found that all
of them either were or had been taking their morning draughts. Returning
512 to the King I found him a Sleep in a small retired hut with
two Women taping his[2] breech. About 11 oclock he got up, some fish
643 and yam, which tasted as it had been stewed in Cocoanut milk, was
brought him of which he eat a large portion and then laid down to
648 sleep again, when I left him to visit the Prince and to make him a
644 present of Cloth, Beads &c[a] I had brought with me for the purpose;
there was sufficient to make him a compleat suit of Clothing, in
which he was immediately dress'd. He first went and shewed himself
to his Father, and then carried me to his Mother, with whom was
ten or a dozen other respectable looking Women. Here the Prince
changed his apparel and made me a present of two peices of their
648 Cloth. By this time it was pass'd Noon, when every one of us according
643 to appointment repaired to the Palace to dine and presently after
dinner was served up consisting of two Pigs and yams, I rouse'd the
262 King up to pertake of what he had provided for us. In the mean
time two Mullet and some shell fish was brought him as I supposed
for his dinner; he joined it to ours, sat down with us and made a
hearty meal.

651 Soon after dinner was over, we were told that the ceremony would

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[1] This was the sort of massage called *tukituki* (*tuki*, to strike). It served to relieve pain, lassitude, and fatigue, says Mariner, to 'give very great ease, producing a soothing effect upon the system, and lulling to sleep'.—II, p. 233. There was a variant: 'Sometimes, when a man is much fatigued, he will lie on the ground whilst three or four little children trample upon him all over; and the relief given by this operation is very great'.—ibid.

[2] *his*: MS *in*.

Before I returned on board I set on foot a trade for Hogs and Yams, 439
of the first we got but few but of the latter plenty. I put a shore at
this island the Sheep I gave to Mariwaggy, viz a Ram and two Ewes 231
of the Cape breed; they were intrusted to the care of Ta-oo-fa who 177
seemed to be proud of his charge. As the Dogs had not yet got to this
island I looked upon it to be the properest place for sheep.

SUNDAY 13*th*. The 13th in the after noon a party of us traveled to the 123
top of the highest hill in order to have a View of the interior parts of
the island. About half way we crossed a deep Valley, whose bottom
and sides were clothed with timber, though composed of hardly any 133
thing but coral rock, which, as was observed on Tongatabu, was per- 137
forated into all those holes and inequalities we find it on the Sea
Coast, though this could not be less than two or three hundred feet
above the livel of the Sea. Indeed we found the same Coral till we
began to approach the summits of the highest hills, these were chiefly
composed of yellowish soft sandy stone. The soil for the most part is 134
a redish Cley which in many places seemed to be very deep.[1] On the
very summit of the highest hill is raised a round platform or Mount 345
of earth, supported by a wall of Coral stone, which to bring so high
must have cost much labour. Our guides told us that this Mount was
raised by order of their Chief and that they sometimes met there to 276
drink Cava[2]—there being a spring of very good Water not many 312
paces from it, and about a mile lower down a runing stream which
we were told finds its way to the Sea when the rains are copious; we
also met with Water in many little holes so that by diging no doubt
but great plenty would be found. From this hill we had a full View 133
of the whole island except a part of the south point; the SE side from
which the hills are not far distant, rises with very great inequalities 137
directly from the Sea, so that the plains and Medows, of which here
are some of great extent, lay all on the NW side; and as they are

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[1] 'Eua geologically is an interesting combination of the coral and the volcanic island.
Coralline limestone was deposited on an underwater volcanic base; then renewed volcanic 133
activity was followed by intermittent uplift, and later tilting which made the east and south
sides higher than the west and north ones. Hence the combination of coral rock, soft
volcanic tuff and volcanic soil which Cook describes in these last two sentences, and the
landscape he describes further on. Parts of the island were naturally very fertile. To the
tributes printed in II, p. 260, n. 4 may now be added one from Edgar. 'This little Island
may be stiled the Montpelier of the Friendly Isles—the Land is higher than any of the
others, and affords some of the most Romantick & beautiful Valleys in the World the
greatest part of this Island is not planted the Earth or Soil of which bears the Strongest
resemblance to red Ocre—tho' there is great abundance of every thing for it's inhabitants
the Walks are enchanting and the whole Island is a little Paradise.'

[2] It was an *esi*, or 'rest-mound', a mound built for a particular chief, in some advan-
tageous spot, where he might take his ease, and recreate his spirit with the view, which 823
Cook goes on to describe. Sometimes the ownership would lie in the whole chiefly family. 565
The Tongans were very conscious of natural beauty, as well as of the pleasure of cooling
breezes.

and one of the Daughters lives at Hammoah, or Vaughwaugh,
Latouleboula the son and the other Daughter at Tongatabu; the 644
latter is she who is mentioned to have dined with me on the 22nd of June.
They were both frequently with us, but never appeared to be persons
of consequence nor property. Latouleboula was looked upon by his
country men as a Mad man, and many of his actions shewed they
were not misstaken. At Middleburg I was shewed a good deal of land
said to belong to him, and I saw there a son of his, a child, that they
called by the same title as the father. The Son of the greatest Prince
in Europe could not be more humoured and caressed than this little
brat was.

Not only the King, but most of the great men have a kind of Levy 565
every morning, but the chief purpose of these meetings is to drink 276
Cava, or Kava, which one of the company treats the others with. It is
generally, if not always prepared by the servants or toutous; the first 574
cup is brought to the principal person, who for the most part orders [512]
it to be given to a nother, the second is then brought him, which he [643]
drinks. Then as the others are filled, the person who fills them asks
who is to have it and the person who gives the treat names the person
and so it continues till the bowl is emptied. It is served out by the
servants, who sit down when they deliver the cup, unless it be a meet-
ing of inferior chiefs, than this ceremony is not observed, but great
order is always kept up.

Of the Religion of these people, I know little more than what has 771
been occasionally mentioned. There principles and notions, nearly
agree with the people of Otaheite; they acknowlidge the influance of 776
superior beings, one of whom is supreme and the rest subordinate. [771]
The supreme being I have heard called by different names; the King
called him Fattafee, and said that when he was angry he distroyed [184]
the produce of the land by giving them no rain, the fish of the sea and
punishes them with death, but when he was pleased he gave them
health, long life and every thing in plenty, and this seem'd to be all 182
they either feared or expected.[1] I think I may venture to assert that

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faku to his children. The complications and proliferations were endless, but enough has [644]
been said to explain the anomaly of the sacred king doing homage to others who were not
kings, but merely sacred. For Paulaho, both Moungalakepa his niece, and Latunipulu his [602]
nephew, were *faku*. The niece, the female, indeed, was more *faku* than the nephew: to
Moungalakepa the king did obeisance, and in her presence could not eat; in Latunipulu's [643]
presence he could not eat, but did not do him obeisance.

[1] Tongan religion is a difficult subject indeed. There were many differences between [264]
Tongan and Tahitian notions; for instance, the generally important Polynesian gods
Tane, Tu and Rongo did not appear on the Tongan scene. But Tangaroa or Tangaloa [771]
did, and it was he who fished up the Tongan islands out of the sea. He fathered the first
Tu'i Tonga, Aho'eitu, by a Tongan woman called Ilaheva—and hence perhaps the semi- [771]
divine Paulaho's reference to him as Fatafehi. But the distinctive Tongan principal god,
shared with Samoa but no other Polynesian island, was Hikuleo; he and the other gods of [773]
[775]

where we found several people bathing, but the water was too salt to
use and we always found that what they call'd good water was almost 312
intolerable to us, a sure proof that they are entire strangers to it
generally speaking. In one place where it still continued to run out
from under the rock it was somewhat fresher, & might probably be
still more so the longer the water ebb'd, but it was difficult to say
whether this would have been a constant source supposing the tide
never reach'd it, or only a certain quantity wash'd from the earth
during the time the last remaind in these vacuitys and mix'd with it.

When we return'd in the evening Poulaho had a pretty large hog 643
dressd for our entertainment, with Yams, Cocoa nuts &c and afterwards
provided us with as good a lodging as his house could afford, 648
giving us mats to sleep on and cloth to cover us, but our host had
made himself so happy with some wine & brandy we had brought
that it was a matter of much indifference to him where he lay.

FRIDAY 27th. The Wind ESE. Moderate breezes fine weather. In the 132
morning Poulaho told us he was going presently to perform a ceremony
call'd Tooge[1] which they do at the death of their relations and 304
even in other distressing situations. It is done by striking the highest 763
part of the cheek bone alternately with the inside of the fists for some
time, which abrades the skin and makes the blood flow out in a
considerable quantity, at the same time accompanying it with a dolefull
kind of cry or weeping. We were glad to have an opportunity of [276]
seeing a custom so universal that perhaps eight in ten of them retain
the marks of having perform'd it, and great numbers of them very
recent, at which time it looks as if a hollow circle [were] burnt in;
but were disappointed at last, for though he went to an inclosure
where a large circle of people were sitting to drink Kava we saw no
other ceremony than he and the people that were with him putting
some green leaves about their necks, which they broke and threw
down when they came to the place. We had seen them drinking the 276
Kava sometimes at the other islands, but by no means so frequently as
here, where it seems the only forenoon employment of the principal 171
people and the drinking it is confin'd to them only, unless they chance 517
to prepare a little more than is wanted when it is distributed to any 565
person indifferently. The Kava is a species of pepper[2] which they
cultivate for this purpose and esteem it a valuable article, taking 249
great care to defend the young plants from any injury and commonly
plant it about their houses. It seldom grows to more than a mans
height, though I have seen some plants almost double that, and

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[1] *tuki.*

[2] *Piper methysticum.*

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[1777]

249 branches considerably with large heart shap'd leaves and jointed
stalks. The root is the only part us'd, which being dug up is given to
276 the servants that attend, who breaking it in pieces scrape the dirt off
with a shell or bit of stick, and each begins & chews his portion which
[415] they spit into a bit of plantane leaf: and the person who is to prepare
[412] it collects all these mouthfulls and puts them into a large wooden dish
or bowl with three or four feet, & adds as much water as will make it
of a proper strength. It is then well mixd up with the hands, and some
loose stuff which mats are made of thrown on the surface, which
being turn'd in intercepts the fibrous part and is wrung hard to get
as much as possible out from it, when it is given to some of the bye
sitters who sometimes prepare a weaker sort from it for themselves by
276 chewing it again. They then begin to distribute it in little cups made
574 of a bit of plantane leaf tied at each end, but where the company is
large & respectable as our present one was the person who distributes
[415] it calls out to know who the servants shall carry it to, and is commonly
directed by one person belonging to the chief who gives the Kava.
Each person has a clean cup which they throw away as soon as it is
drank, and the quantity is commonly about a quarter of a pint,
though they sometimes venture on two cups if much has been made.
276 The immediate effect it produces is not perceptible on these people
who use it so frequently, but on some of ours who try'd it, though so
nastily prepar'd, it had the same power as spirits in making them
drunk, or rather producing that kind of stupefaction in consequence
of using Opium or other substances of that kind. It should be observ'd
at the same time that though they have it always fresh prepar'd—
and I have seen them drink it seven times before noon—it is nevertheless
so disagreeable or at least seems so that the greatest part of
them cannot swallow it without making wry faces and shuddering
afterwards.

114 After this we set out from Mooa and meeting several Canoes in our
way Poulaho calld to them and took what fish he pleas'd. We din'd
[643] on a small island call'd 'Onne'vy[1] about a league off the mouth of the
[312] bay, where Poulaho said there was good water but we found as was
said before that these people have very little knowledge of such a
[103] valuable article for there was none of it tolerable to us. This island is
311 quite in a natural state, being only frequented as a fishing place, and
has nearly the same productions as Palmerstons island with some
226 E'toá trees.

114 On returning to the ship we pass'd a curious large rock which
133 seems to have been thrown upon the reef where it stands by accident.

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[1] 'Onevai.

[1777]

352 stiff kind of mat that stands by itself & forms a low partition, which is
[285 also us'd to hang around the part of the house open to the wind in
[513 bad weather. Women of consequence sometimes sit in their houses
[562 in the day surrounded or enclos'd with one of these mats, seemingly
[565 with no other intention than to indicate their superior rank. They
seem to have no set time for meals (though it should be observ'd that
264 during our stay amongst these people their domestic œconomy seems
much disturb'd from their constant attention to us), for the better
● 276 sort only drink Kava in the forenoon and the others eat perhaps a bit
512 of Yam; but we have commonly seen them eat sometime in the
afternoon, and it would appear that the practice of making a meal in
the night is pretty common as their rest being disturbd in the night
makes them frequently sleep in the day, although they go to bed as
262 soon as dusk at night and get up at dawn in the morning. The
greatest part of their Vegetable diet is Yams, Plantanes and Cocoa
nuts: of their animal food the chief is hogs, fowls, fish, all sorts of shell
fish, and the lower people eat rats. The two first articles with bread
fruit are what may be call'd the basis of their food, which they have
at different times of the year with fish and shell fish, for hogs, fowls
252 & turtle seem only to be ate occasionally by the better people. The
intervals between the season of these things must be sometimes
considerable, as they prepare a sort of artificial bread from plantanes
which they put under ground before ripe, and suffer them to remain
till they ferment, when they are taken out & made up into small
balls, but so sour & indifferent that they often said our bread was
262 preferable though somewhat musty.[1] They also use great quantitys of
the Nuts call'd E'eefee at these times, which is coarser and less
agreeable than our Chesnuts.

252 The method of dressing these things is entirely in the kind of oven
us'd to bake the hogs with, but they sometimes roast the Vegetables
[415 on an open fire, and though they have a few earthen globular pots
[177 they get them from Feejee and are never apply'd to that purpose.
They are as yet almost strangers to the thousand destructive luxurys
which cookery has invented, but nevertheless have a few artificial
dishes, such as a soft pudding made of Talo and other roots with
Cocoa nut scrap'd into it,[2] which gives an agreeable smoothness to
262 every thing dress'd with it. There is also another very palatable sort
in which is put aromatic leaves as seasoning, and they prepare a dish

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[1] This, if accurately observed, is a variation on what Mariner, II, p. 200, calls 'Ma me; fermented breadfruit'. Churchward pleasantly defines *ma* as 'a kind of ensilage (but for human consumption)'; *mei* is breadfruit. Anderson in his own vocabulary explains 'Maa' as 'A sour plantain, by being put underground'.

[2] *po'oi*.

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648 answered, 'migee migee.'[1] This would not have been worth mention-
609 ing but that it shews in a striking light the great simplicity of their
Manners, which must be an apology for its indelicacy, at least I have
[836] no other to offer except the strong propensity a man feels to tell his
[833] friends a piece of news that savours so much of the marvellous &
ludicrous. Early the next morning we took our leave of Toobow who
wanted us much to accept of some Cloth in return for the presents we
759 had made him, but this we could not comply with. We had not gone
far from the House before we met Phenow dressed in his best Habit
[634] with his Hair and Shoulders shining with oil; being somewhat sur-
[302] prized at seeing him thus so early in the Day, we asked him the reason
of it & he told us he was going to wait upon Toobow to desire his assistance for one of his Wives who was sick—being set upon the Enquiry by this Circumstance I learned afterwards that Toobow is the Chief Physician of the Island & that he is highly respected and venerated by all Ranks of people on that Account, & it appears by his Rank that ye profession of Physic is excercised only by the Princes of the Country, like it was of old by the Chiefs & Kings among the grecians. A medical Person or Physician is called in their Language Fo-foa;[2] how far their Knowledge extends we had not an opportunity to learn.

276 Every Morning the Chiefs and their attendants drink Kava, the
Juice of an intoxicating Pepper, the method of preparing and drink-
574 ing it is as follows. The Chief sits crosslegged facing his attendants who
[565] sit in the same manner forming a half Circle with their faces towards
[512] him, a large wooden Bowl is placed in the middle, with some water
at hand in a gourd, a quantity of the Kava root is brought in by a
[415] servant & every one except the Chief himself takes a bit of it & chews
it; while they are performing this Operation, one man is employed in making small Cups of Plantain leaves, another in drawing a plant into Fibres with his Teeth, which they use like Tow for a strainer; these Things being got ready one of them went round for the Kava which every man delivered to him out of his Mouth ground into a mass full

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[1] Mariner 'michi'; Anderson 'Meedje, meedje, [*misi-misi*], To drink out of a coconut', or, of children, to suck; but here it must mean sexual intercourse. Labillardière, *Account of a Voyage in search of La Pérouse* . . . (2nd ed., London, 1802), in his twelfth chapter gives amusing instances of its use thus, and his Vocabulary of the Friendly Islands (II, p. 398) has 'Mitzi mitzi, mitchi mitchi', for the act of coition.

[2] This word presents a little problem. It is difficult to say whether the initial letter is a badly-written F or a badly-written T. If it is F then there may be some connection with the now obsolescent *fuavai*, a dispenser of medicine. If it is T the alliance may be with *tufunga*, a word which in its various Polynesian forms and combinations carries all sorts of implications of skill or wisdom, though in Tongan it seems to have had the more restricted meaning of skilled workman or artificer as given by Mariner for his 'Toofoonga'. The more likely guess seems to be *fuavai*.

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of Saliva. The Servant then put each portion together into the wooden 276
bowl & poured a certain quantity of Water upon it according to the
number of Guests, the proportion of about half a pint of the prepared 574
Liquor falling to the share of each. He mixes the Mass & the water [415]
well together with his hands & then puts a handful of the Fibres in
through which he strained the Liquor; when this was done he had a
fresh Bundle of Fibres brought to him which he put into the bowl &
thereby took up a sufficient Quantity of the Liquor for one person's
Share, & strained it into the Cup which was brought to him by the
other Servant, who carried it first to the Chief himself except there
was a stranger in Company to whom they always gave the preference,
after that to the old Men, & so on till every one had his Cup & if
there was any left it fell to the share of the person who prepared it.
They give the root another Infusion which affords them a second
Cup, but much weaker than the first. The Cup which is made of one [415]
leaf is just made for present use & then thrown away. In this manner
did Powlohow, Fatafee & Phenow regale themselves very morning [643]
apart from each other, surrounded by inferior Chiefs who seemed to
be their immediate Dependents, & it seldom happened but that some [634]
of our people (C. Cook, Omai) attended their Levee & partook of [565]
their Beveredge to which they were soon reconciled, notwithstanding [123]
the Method of preparing it was not the most delicate: it has
a strong bitter sickly taste peculiar to itself, it exhilerates the Spirits [171]
& is perfectly intoxicating tho' it partakes more of the Effects of
Opium than of Spirituous Liquors, causing Drowsiness and Stupidity;
we never saw any of these people intoxicated by it nor have they the
scaly Skin & sore Eyes by which the Otaheiteans Chiefs are distinguished,
who drink an immoderate quantity of it & often get
intoxicated with it, for there they drink it genuine that is with
nothing but Saliva & the Juice of the root,[1] which may be compared
to raw Liquor, whereas the People of Tongataboo mix water with it
and so make it into Grog.

As the Island produces Breadfruit, Yams & Plantains in great 517
abundance & that with very little trouble or Labour to the Inhabitants,
they lead a very easy and an indolent Kind of Life as indeed
all the South Sea Islanders do; being perplexed with no Cares for the
morrow, they find sufficient Leasure to pursue their amusements &
enjoy the present Moment; during the Heat of the day they often
repose themselves in the Shade or sleep in their Houses upon matts.

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[1] It would have been impossible to produce a 'drink' in this manner. What Samwell means, presumably, is that a person would chew the root for himself and swallow what he could get out of it thus. This practice was certainly followed by some addicts.

512 They bathe themselves about Sunrising either in the small Pools or
[515 in the Sea. In the Morning Parties meet together who form a ring &
533 sing to the beat of Drum & drink Kava after which they eat baked
yams or breadfruit. They dine about noon generally upon baked
276 yams & breadfruit with Puddings made of Plantains, & sometimes
514 the better sort have Pork but more commonly Fish, drinking water
264 with it which they seem to prefer in general to the Cocoa nut milk,
262 not caring so much for that as the meat of the nut. The Chiefs are
271 served at their meals with much Parade, a single yam being often
brought on a pole between two men so that a dinner consisting of a
272 dozen or two of yams, some parcels of baked Fish, Plantains, Cocoa
565 nuts & shells of water & the plantain Leaves for a table Cloth will
264 employ 30 or 40 people. Their method of Cooking differs in nothing
262 material from that of Otaheite which has been amply described in
Captn Cook's first Voyage to that Island. About sunset they play
252 upon their Flutes, sing or sit in discourse with their Women before
171 their Houses; after dark they light Torches in their Houses by which
533 they sit and converse or meet together in large Companies of young
521 men & women & dance upon the green plats before their Doors.
The young women on these occasions make use of many lascivious
535] Gestures & Motions, & so fond are they of this amusement that not a
day passes but many of these dances are performed in all parts of the
[226] Country. While these are employed in following their Pleasures
others line the shores with Torches in their Canoes as a decoy for the
Fish, which they catch in that manner.

Every Chief has his Land inclosed with a hedge of Wicker work
351 about 8 feet high made with Bamboo which has a very neat appear-
417 ance. To this inclosure there is one entrance only, at a door made of
Planks which is kept shut by a long pole resting against it on the
361 inside & it cannot be opened on the outside. Within the generality
of these Inclosures stand about half a dozen Houses among the Cocoa
342 nut & Bread fruit Trees & groves of Plantains; the Houses are small
362 & contain but one family in each, the Shape of them is an oblong
square, the floors are raised about a foot from the Surface of the
ground and always covered with matts, the Eves reach near the
Ground & the sides are made of wicker work tho' some again are
352 quite open. The Married people are seperated at night from the rest
by Skreens made of Strong thick matts which they draw round them,
& these they make use of in the day & move them about occasionally
[415 to defend them from the wind & the Sun. The furniture of their
411] Houses consists of the Garee[1] or Stools which they use for Pillows,

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[1] *kali.*

613
in favor of a high chief with strong alliances. A chief's "people"[26] need 554
not be related to him by blood, but rather are associated with him by virtue 565
of living on the land (*tofi'a*) which goes with his title. [611]

DISCUSSION

Inequality is a conspicuous feature of Tongan social organization, but 554
dominance and subordination do not operate in one dimension. Rather,
Tonga can be characterized as having multi-dimensional ranking, and not
all of the dimensions fit into one pattern. In any discussion of rank it is 554
necessary to specify *kāinga* status; inheritance within the *kāinga;* class 565
rank; or *ha'a* rank. For each kind of rank a different combination of prin- 613
ciples is involved: *kāinga* status depends on maternal and paternal principles,
sex, and age; *kāinga* inheritance depends on primogeniture within the 612
patrilineal group; *ha'a* rank depends on segmentation from the Tu'i Tonga
line (an individual ideally tracing his *ha'a* through his father's line); and
class rank depending on one's genealogy through both mother and father.

It is interesting to note that when Tongans discuss rank they often do 554
so with reference to "who cooks for whom."[27] In our example of the funeral, 565
the cooks are those related through the mother of the dead man, especially
the *liongi* (see Note 8). At the funeral of Queen Sālote in 1965 the *liongi* 613
were those related through her mother, i.e., the Tu'i Tonga line, and es- 612
pecially the present Kalanivalu, who is her *tama 'a tu'asina*. Kalanivalu was 764
liongi to her because of their *kāinga* relationships, even though his *ha'a* 644
rank derives from the Tu'i Tonga, while her *ha'a* rank derives from the
Tu'i Kanokupolu.

Ha'a are societal divisions comprised of individuals associated with ranked 613
titles. *Ha'a* have political and ceremonial functions and are of significance 554
only to those in positions of power or potential power and are known 565
mainly by chiefs who stand to benefit by power play or tradition. Most
Tongans today (and probably traditionally) do not know the relative 184
ranking or origin of the various *ha'a,* because these are affairs of the chiefs
and do not concern them.

Aoyagi, who worked in Tonga in 1962 and 1963, states (Aoyagi 1966: 613
150) that "*ha'a* are not known in this village or in other villages where I 554
made enquiries." Her failure to elicit information on *ha'a* is not because
they do not exist, but because she asked the wrong people about them. 565
She worked with commoners, mainly in Nukuleka, which is a village 114
under a *matāpule,* rather than a chief. Any noble, chief, or member of
his family, however, can tell one without hesitation to which *ha'a* they belong
and with what senior *ha'a* they are associated. At the kava ceremony held [276]
in connection with the coronation of Tupou IV on July 6, 1967, the [574]
present title holders of the various *ha'a* took part, and they were well
aware of their positions and duties within the framework of the societal [643]
structure. Aoyagi (1966: 173) takes both Gifford and Sahlins to task for
characterizing Tonga as an internally stratified system, saying:

> He [Gifford] wrote that "the whole system of lineages may be likened to a tree with trunk, limbs, branches, and twigs," which is not the case of the *famili* organisation at

> all. And much less, an internal stratified system as the result of ramification (ramage 613
> type according to M. Sahlins) can not be possibly found in this village. Supposing the 554
> ramage type to exist here in this village, all the villagers should be integrated into a 565
> triangle of hierarchy, the top of which is occupied by Leka. Actually Leka is in the 114
> highest rank of the villagers but except for his position it does not seem that people are internally stratified.

This illustrates precisely how the existing situation can be clouded by a failure to distinguish societal ranking from social status, failure to understand that a different kind of rank operates within them, failure to delineate how these systems are subdivided and ranked in relation to specific activities, and failure to understand how the systems can be manipulated.

Aoyagi seems to imply that village structure is, or should be, a microcosm of the societal structure. In Tonga, at least, this is not the case. *Ha'a* are part of the societal structure and have little to do with villages, and not all villages have men of title. No doubt "ramages" did not exist in Aoyagi's village, since "ramages" (*ha'a*) can only be conceptualized in terms of the whole society and would make no sense at all in terms of a single village.
But that *ha'a* do exist as societal groupings is undeniable. The whole tra- 613
ditional government is predicated on them, and one can observe them in 554
operation in a royal kava ceremony. Village structure in Tonga today is a 565
Western overlay rather than part of the traditional system. Traditionally [177]
the people did not live in villages, the usual pattern being one of dispersed [361]
settlement (Maude 1965: 27). The positions of *ofisa kolo* (town officer) [647]
and *pule fakavahe* (district officer) are appendages of a central administrative system that is concerned mainly with health, sanitation, and taxes.

Power and prestige are still functions of the traditional sociopolitical 554
system based on *ha'a* affiliation and the class division that separates chiefs 565
from commoners. Education is a new force, but those educated men who 178
succeed usually do so by manipulating the traditional system to their ad- 613
vantage, e.g., by marrying the daughters of high-ranking chiefs. The society [581]
as a whole is still kinship oriented, and the principles of *kāinga* rank are [612]
acknowledged on even the most important societal occasions.

During the recent coronation kava ceremony, a large pig was brought to 554
the front of the kava circle and divided, ostensibly to be eaten by the chiefs 565
and *mātapule* in the kava circle, but actually to be ritually taken away 276
from each of the individual participants by a person of higher rank. This 574
visually acknowledged the social fact that rank operates in more than one 613
dimension, one set of principles being used on the societal level while a [612]
different set was operating within the *kāinga*. On this particular occasion all the *ha'a* were represented, and their relative rank and association with other *ha'a* were shown by the order in which their members were served and the position in which they were seated (*ha'a* ranking). Some of the title holders of the low-ranking *ha'a* are higher in class rank than the title holders of some of the high-ranking *ha'a*, but in this case *ha'a* rank takes
precedence.[28] The persons who took away the portions of the pig had higher [612]
status within their *kāinga* than these highest societal ranking people.

Tonga has an internally stratified system and is very conscious of rank at 554
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marriage was a function of rank and a political move to prevent the interference of 565
kainga status principles at the societal level, and to assure that the offspring would
have the highest possible rank within a certain line. [581]

26. A chief's "people" are called his *kainga*, even though they are not related to him [582]
by traceable blood ties.

27. In discussions about rank Tongans often use a statement such as "X must be lower than Y because he cooked at Z's funeral."

28. For example, Tuita operated on this occasion as a *mātapule*, even though he outranks many of the chiefs in class ranking. [276] [574]

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643 Order; Knight Commander of (the order of) the British Empire; and
Commander of (the order of) the British Empire].

Although much has been written about *kava* ceremonies in Tonga (Pratt
114 1922; Collocott 1927; Gifford 1929; Beaglehole and Beaglehole 1941; Newell
276 1947; Lemert 1967; Bott 1972 and Leach 1972) no authors have satisfactorily dealt with the basic question raised by Lemert when he criticized the work of the Beagleholes: no one has explained "why drinking *kava* rather than other beverages continues to function as an integrating force in Tongan life" (1967:190). Lemert pointed out that this is an extremely important question since "home brew" has been available for some time as one "alternative of male interaction." One must also add that there are numerous commercial establishments in Tonga which provide alcoholic beverages which could, theoretically at least, serve as substitutes for *kava* drinking.

121 Why the persistence of *kava* drinking over the years, both informal
consumption (loosely structured) and formal ceremonial consumption (highly structured drinking patterns)? To deal with this question one must combine contemporary ethnographic evidence with accurate ethnohistorical evidence
276 to obtain a diachronic and plausible interpretation. The major point
presented in this paper is that *kava* drinking has been the way in which
186 Tongans have maintained their identity. The most important *kava* ceremony
574 in Tonga, the *Taumafa kava* (or monarch's *kava*) continues to provide the
121 major focal point for Tongan unity.[1]

Drinking in Tonga

121 To place the *Taumafa kava* ceremony into perspective, background
information on the drinking of *kava* and alcoholic beverages is in order. With
275 the prerequisite alcohol license, individual Tongans (and non-Tongans residing
in Tonga) may purchase alcoholic beverages for consumption off of the premises from major stores in Tonga. The alcoholic beverages may also be
275 partaken of in at least three main "clubs" on Tongatapu. The three clubs on
Tongatapu present an intriguing structural pattern of drinking behavior. At
571 one end of a continuum one has the "Tonga Club" which is frequented
primarily by Tongan males and only secondarily by some Europeans (males and females). At the other end of a continuum one has the prestigious and exclusive all-male "Nuku'alofa Club" (the second oldest private club in the South Pacific, founded on May 15, 1914). The Nuku'alofa Club is frequented by resident Tongans and non-Tongans and various transient males. One night a year this club is open to members' wives for a dance. The third club has a mediating position on the continuum and is the "Nuku'alofa Yacht and Motor Boat Club." This club is frequented by both Tongans and non-Tongans, males

and females, and may be called the family club in Tonga. Men and women 275
drink side by side, frequent dances and activities are held, and movies are 571
shown for children on some Saturdays and afternoons. No *kava* is served in
any of these clubs and the standard fare is "Fiji Beer" or "Steinlager," scotch 275
and water, gin and tonic, or rum and coke. Alcoholic beverages can also be [276]
purchased for approximately triple the club prices from the various hotels in [273]
the Kingdom.

An intriguing aspect of the Nuku'alofa Yacht and Motor Boat Club was 275
the presence, on numerous occasions, of several Tongans who belonged to
Churches whose members were (theoretically) supposed to abstain from 273
drinking alcoholic beverages. Once they entered the club, however, the rules 795
were changed and they "shouted" drinks with the best of them! When questioned about this seeming inconsistency in their religious beliefs, some Tongans stated that the club was "neutral" territory. This would appear to happen in more than one club as an article pointed out about a political campaign where "just about everything was tried."

> [The Tongan candidate for the Legislative Assembly] approached fellow church-goers in the . . . community but at the same time sported whiskies and Steinlagers at Nuku'alofa bars (Anonymous 1969).[2]

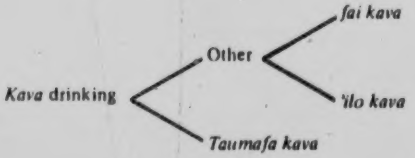
There are numerous *kava* bars throughout the islands of Tonga. In the 275
various *kava* bars, individuals may purchase small coconut shell cups of *kava* which cost a few cents. Just as *kava-palangi* or alcoholic beverages may be purchased in the large stores, *kava Tonga* or small bundles of the root of the *Piper methysticum* may be purchased from the small shops (*fale koloa*, literally "house of riches" or "house of treasure") which are in every village and in Nuku'alofa.

Significance of Kava Drinking

Lemert has written that "Tongans distinguish three types of *kava* 276
drinking" namely [1] *fai-kava*, or the *kava* drinking of the common people;
[2] the *'ilo kava*, the honorific term applied to the kava drinking of the *'eiki* 574
(high ranking individuals); and [3] the *Taumafa kava*, or the monarch's (or 643
Royal) *kava* ceremony (1967:188). This threefold distinction is too fine and I am in agreement with His Royal Highness Tu'i Pelehake, the Premier of Tonga and His Majesty's brother, who has pointed out that "there are two types of *kava* ceremonies, the ordinary *kava* ceremony and the King's *Kava* Ceremony (*Taumafa kava*)" (1955:48). The ceremony known as *'ilo kava* should be seen as a mediating ceremony between the *fai kava* (informal) and *Taumafa kava* (highly formal) ceremonies. For all essential purposes there are only two types of *kava* ceremonies in Tonga: those in which the reigning ruler

276 is present, highly formal, and those in which the reigning ruler is absent, with
574 varying degrees of informality depending on the occasion and the participants
(see Figure 1).
643

Fig. 1 **Kava drinking.**



276 The basic structural feature of any kava drinking session is the same: an
574 elliptically shaped "circle" is formed, with the "guest of honor" at one end of the circle and the *kava* bowl and *kava* makers at the other end. It is not necessary to delve into either the pharmacological properties of the *Piper methysticum* or the ceremony of preparation since both properties and preparation are adequately covered in the cited literature. It suffices to say that [1] the *kava* drink is prepared in the *kava* bowl and [2] the *kava* drink is then distributed to the various seated participants in the *kava* circle according
276 to the established and agreed upon cultural rules. The rules of *kava* drinking
574 now require the first coconut-cup (or leaf cup) to be presented to the highest
554 ranking individual present who is the guest of honor. The *matapule* (master of ceremonies) of the guest of honor, or someone serving in the capacity for the *matapule*, then determines the further distribution of the *kava* drinks. *Kava* is distributed to the next highest ranking individual present (seated closest to the guest of honor) and then eventually to the lowest ranking individual present (furthest away from the guest of honor), so that finally all individuals in the circle, from highest rank to lowest rank, finally receive some *kava*.

In aboriginal and contemporary Tongan society, "rank" was relative to the particular occasion and this is certainly true for all Tongan *kava* drinking sessions. It is because of this "relativity of rank" for all occasions that one can state that there are only two *kava* ceremonies in Tonga: the *Taumafa*
276 *kava* and all others. In the *Taumafa kava* ceremony the reigning ruler is the
574 "presiding chief" and His Majesty currently receives the first bowl of *kava*.
554 All other individuals in the *Taumafa kava* ceremony are then "ranked"
643 accordingly from the King. For every other *kava* drinking situation, when the King is not present, the order of presentation for the drinking of the first cup
276 of *kava* (and subsequent cups of *kava*) simply depends on who is present on
574
554

that particular occasion. There is no set pattern of *kava* distribution when the 276
King is not there. The only theoretical generalization that one can make for
all non-*Taumafa kava* drinking sessions is that "the *kava* is distributed 574
according to the agreed upon rank of those individuals present." This 554
admittedly low-level generalization is true whether we term all non-*Taumafa*
kava sessions either *'ilo kava* ceremonies or *fai-kava* sessions.

For particular non-*Taumafa kava* sessions when individuals cannot agree in advance upon their relative rank *vis-à-vis* one another, they then avoid one another at certain *kava* sessions. For early-contacted Tonga this behavior is quite clear from the account of the French navigator Dumont D'Urville in Tonga 1827. He wrote about the rarity of certain *kava* sessions because of the lack of certain major individuals and:

> above all because of the claims of Palou [also known as Fatukimotulalo, an important and powerful and non-titled individual] and Tahofa [also known as Fae], who took care to avoid any [*kava*] gatherings where they could not occupy the highest place (MS:10).

In contemporary Tonga, elaborate genealogies (both real and fictive) are [601]
often traced out for seating positions in non-*Taumafa kava* sessions. Some
changes have taken place in all *kava* sessions since the advent of Europeans [177]
and, briefly stated, in aboriginal Tongan society the "rank" for a *kava* circle
was determined on the basis of the personal rank of the individual whereas in
contemporary Tongan society it is the rank of the "title" which an individual
has which is the determining factor in seating (and drinking) arrangements.[3]

What is important for all *kava* drinking in Tonga is [1] that it occurs [178]
today and [2] the basic structural features (bowl, circle, and relative order of
serving) have remained essentially stable over the years. The non-*Taumafa* 276
kava sessions serve as a "safety valve" for Tongan society and provide a 574
frequent chance to discuss the latest gossip, rumors, or general conversation. 521
The Beagleholes pointed out in their 1941 work that the topics of [182]
conversation in an informal *kava* session frequently deal with:

> the state of cultivation, the gossip and scandal of the village, the strange ways of white people, news and rumour from other villages far and near, actions of government representatives from policemen to high officials, chance remarks from passing acquaintances on the island roads, religious doctrine and dogma, dreams and strange events all [of] these and many other topics are considered from every possible angle and point of view (1941:20).

In brief, an informal and small-sized *kava* session is not an extremely 276
spectacular event, much like the drinking in a tavern or bar among good 574
friends. The *Taumafa kava*, on the other hand, provides Tongans with a [643]
particular focal point for their own identity and is discussed below. [186]

Tongans and Europeans

276 When the Wesleyan Missionaries first arrived in Tonga in the early
nineteenth century the role (and fate) of the Christians was often a topic of
574 heated discussion at various *kava* sessions. The following example from a
521 missionary in the islands from August 16, 1822, to October 3, 1823, makes
797 this quite clear:

> 829 At the Cava Ring this morning [Nov. 29, 1822] there were several speeches delivered very prejudicial to our peace. Mafee [making the] Malanga [speech] said that the white people were come as spies and would soon [be] followed by others from England who would take away all Tonga from them. "See, said he, "These people are always praying to their Atuas [*'otua*], as the other Missionaries [of the London Missionary Society in Tonga from 1797 to 1800] were; and what was the consequence of their praying? Why, the wars broke out and all the old chiefs were killed." Malabow one of the Matabolles related his dream, the burden of which was that the old chiefs came back from Boolotoo last night, and seeing the fencing of our garden, said, "What is that?" They were answered, "It is the white people's Ahey [*'api*], or place of abode." Upon which, they became much displeased, and said, "The white people will pray you all dead." Much more to the same purpose was said in the Cava ring party. The multitude believed all and are much dissatisfied with us (Walter: November 29, 1822).

276 In the nineteenth century, *kava* drinking sessions were a way of
discussing current affairs and maintaining Tongan unity in the face of
574 missionary influence on Tongan life. One European non-missionary observer
797 of nineteenth century Tongan life wrote:

> [521 186] The practise of kava-drinking seems to be falling much into disuse, particularly among the Christians, who are not encouraged to continue it by the [Wesleyan] missionaries (Erskine 1853:149).

The missionaries were opposed to *kava* drinking yet the Tongans continued drinking. The *kava* ceremonies clarified the basic cultural problems (and rules) of Tongan society and, as such, the ceremonies were difficult to
276 eliminate. John Thomas, a Wesleyan missionary in the islands from 1826 to
574 1850 and again from 1855 to 1859, also provides us with some information
797 concerning the discussions at the *kava* ceremonies regarding the missionaries:

> 521 The King was not at school this morning. Several others were [also] kept away at a cava party. I learned from an Englishman at this place that various things are talked about [at the kava parties] of an unfavourable nature respecting us, calculated to grieve us if we were strangers to the devices of Satan and the fallen state of the heathen [or non-Wesleyan Tongans]. But we leave these things to the Lord who will give us strength (1830:Letter-Journal).

In aboriginal times, and this would be true for early-contacted Tonga as 276
well as contemporary Tonga, informal *kava* sessions took place not only for 574
general discussions, but also took place at various points in the life cycle.
Kava ceremonies played an important part in celebrating births, weddings, 764
and funerals. Aoyagi (1966:167-172) and Newell (1947:404) point this out [851]
for the twentieth century and as one nineteenth century non-missionary [585]
observer noted:

> Breakfasted at Thomas Wright's: heard there of the death of the chief Luaka: went to see the funeral ceremony. The cava rings were formed (Bays 1831:121).

His Royal Highness Tu'i Pelehake has pointed out that *kava* drinking provides 276
"a seal on all occasions" whether they be formal gatherings or informal 574
gatherings (1955:48). When a person of importance visited somewhere, a *kava*
session was held to honor the individual. When the above mentioned Dumont 276
D'Urville landed at Tongatapu in 1827 he reported: 574

> Soon after our arrival at the anchorage, a native came to present me 609
> with a great ceremony a green branch of kava (piper methysticum). Singleton [a European residing in the islands since 1806], whom I questioned about the reason for this gift, informed me that this branch had been sent to me by the old queen Tuoï-Tonga-Fafine, and that in doing so she did me a great honour. The branch put the ship under the protection of the gods of the country and would guarantee it against any misfortune. Consequently I received the sacred branch with respect and I had it planted in a spot within view of the ship, which seemed to please the natives who witnessed the ceremony (MS: 1a).

The presentation of the root was a prelude to an elaborate *kava* ceremony which the French navigator subsequently took part in and which served as a "seal of approval" for his visit.[4]

In addition to *kava* ceremonies being important in the particular life 276
cycle of the individual, *kava* ceremonies also play an important role in the 574
organization of Tongan society in general. *Kava* ceremonies took place when
individuals received their titles in Tongan society or when they were stripped 554
from their title for some reason. When an individual is installed into a chiefly [558]
position, the essence of the installation, as Collocott has accurately pointed out, "is the calling into his place into the *kava*-ring, to receive his cup by his new title" (1927:38).

In 1938, for example, His Majesty King Taufa'ahua Tupou IV (then the 276
Crown Prince) took part in an elaborate *pongipongi* ceremony when he 574
received the title of Tupouto'a:

> The Kava ceremony occupied two hours and was presided over by 644
> Queen Salote [Tupou III]. The [Crown] Prince was officially recognized as Tubouto'a and his position in respect of the *Kava* rings was confirmed when he drank a bowl of *kava* in his new name. . . . The *Kava* ring was composed of 150 Chiefs and Matabules (Masters of

> 276 Ceremony) from the whole of the [Island] Group. . . . After the *Kava*
> 574 Ceremony came the presentation of food. This was Tubouto'a's mark of
> homage and allegiance to the Sovereign, and is a relic of the old custom
> 644 of the "Inasi" (presentation of the first fruits of the land to the Tu'i
> Toga) (Anonymous 1938:43-44).

[651] An excellent description of the installation of the individual who was to
276 become known as King George Tupou I is provided by John Thomas and
574 points out the "seal of approval" in the ceremony of drinking *kava*:

> 644 The ceremony of appointing to [the] office [of *Tu'i Kanokupolu*]
> 643 took place at a cava-meeting. The cava has been considered sacred; and ALMOST EVERYTHING TO BE SETTLED IN THESE ISLANDS IS DONE AT A CAVA MEETING, at which great order is observed [STRESS added] (Thomas 1845:156).

554 In aboriginal Tongan society (and early contacted Tongan society prior to the
565 celebrated Tongan Constitution of 1875) consensus and flexibility were key
concepts in the relationship between the ruler and the ruled (Urbanowicz 1973:114-115). An individual who wanted to be a chief of a particular group of people had to have not only the consent of the people but also of the
[643] fellow chiefs. Even the *Tu'i Tonga*, one of the leading titled individuals in
Tongan society, could not be appointed to his position without the support and consent of the *Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua* or (later) the *Tu'i Kanokupolu*. If a particular chief did not have the support of other chiefs, he could lose his title and position in Tongan society.

558 In 1840, some battles took place on Tongatapu which resulted in two
chiefs having their titles removed. The *Tu'i Kanokupolu* Jiosaia Tupou and
727 King George Tupou met and Thomas recorded the event:

> 565 After this [meeting] the two Kings met with their chiefs and did depose Ata and another chief [called by the title] Vahi (the latter has been the cause of the wars) and appointed a new Ata and Vahai in their place (Thomas *Journal*: February 14, 1830).

The former *Ata* had land on Tongatapu Island and this was also removed from him and transferred to the new *Ata* (Rabone *Journal*: February 28,
[276] 1840). Although there is no extant evidence which specifically mentions the
[574] *kava* ceremony which accompanied this particular "title removal" it
undoubtedly took place. The following account makes this clear concerning
558 another individual who lost his title at another point in time because of his
798 Wesleyan beliefs:

> 276 This morning about 1 o'clock we were aroused from a sleep by a
> 574 messenger from Beka where the [Wesleyan] Chapel was opened last week, who came to say that a persecuting party had arrived there, and they supposed it was to dispose of [the titled individual known as] Tuivakano for having embraced Christianity, and drove the Christian party from their homes. Messengers have been going to Beka, and

> coming to our Chief all day to state how things were going on. Old 558
> Vaea of Houma was the principal person in the Party, AND AFTER
> CEREMONIES OF DRINKING KAVA WERE BEGUN, HE STATED 798
> THAT HIS OBJECT WAS TO APPOINT ANOTHER TUIVAKANO 276
> because this one had embraced Christianity, and that as he himself had
> not embraced Christianity he wished still to have a Tuivakano that he 574
> might serve. (This with other observations make me think that the affair is not only a Chiefdom, but somewhat Idolatrous). He wished to be understood as not intending any persecution, but as only anxious to follow up the former service of the Gods, and that as there were some Idolatrous houses in the fortifications, he thought proper that William [Tui'i Vakano] should leave it lest any disrespect should be shown or violence be used to the Idol temples, if the term be not too grand for them. THEY THEREFORE PREPARED THE KAVA WHICH WAS TO BE DRUNK AT THE CEREMONY OF HIS DISMISSAL FROM THE OFFICE, AND CHIEFDOM, AND THE APPOINTMENT OF HIS SUCCESSOR. The Kava is always taken to the persons composing the Party by particular direction of the principal person in the company; and when the waiter gave notice that the bowl was full, old Vaea said "Let Vaea mo Mataello Tuivakano (former name) go down and let Tuivakano come up. THIS WAS THE OFFICIAL SENTENCE WHICH CONSTITUTED HIM NO LONGER TUIVAKANO AND HE INSTANTLY LEFT FOR ANOTHER PART OF THE KAVA RING. Soon after this, old Maafu and Lavaka two chiefs still heathen [or non-Wesleyan], who made the greatest figure in the persecution last year, arrived at the fortifications, and this evening we have heard that Vaea mo Mataele NOW NO LONGER TUIVAKANO shall leave Beka, with all the Christian people [All STRESS added] (Hobbs *Journal*: September 12, 1835).

Not only were individuals installed as leaders in Tongan society or removed 425
from their positions of authority at a *kava* ceremony, but land was also 276
apportioned out in aboriginal times during certain *kava* ceremonies. As 574
another nineteenth century Wesleyan Missionary reported: 634

> This has been a very important day. At the *Kava* ring this morning, two or three Malagas, or speeches were delivered, after which the whole island [of Tongatapu] was divided into different provinces and persons appointed to govern in subjection to the King [*Tu'i Kanokupolu* Jiosaia Tupou]. This is an ancient custom revived (Tucker 1837).[5]

The various *kava* ceremonies in aboriginal Tongan society served a 276
variety of purposes. *Kava* ceremonies could be held just to share information
and opinions but they also served to provide a "seal of approval" on more 574
important functions, such as title installation or removal or the division of 178
land. The drinking of *kava* always was an important aspect of Tongan life and over the years has been the major way in which Tongans have shared and
discussed social activities. *Kava* drinking has been the way that Tongans [186]
maintained their own cultural identity in the face of cultural (namely "religious") colonialism.

651 Tonga in approximately June. His Majesty King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV now
178 opens the Tonga Legislative Assembly with a formal speech. In *lieu* of the
'inasi 'ufimotu'a ceremony which took place in approximately the Septem-
643 ber-November period, His Majesty King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV now travels to
644 the various islands in the archipelago for the official opening of the yearly
646 agriculture shows. The role of the *'inasi* in the past has thus been taken over
543 (or has been substituted) by Legislative Assembly activities and the yearly
agriculture shows.

The formal closing of the Legislative Assembly also takes place in
643 approximately the same time period as the yearly agriculture shows.
644 However, it is His Majesty's travelling to the various islands for the agriculture
646 shows and the inevitable formal *Taumafa kava* ceremony which takes place
484 on each island which serves as the new (and extremely necessary) focal point
543 for Tongan unity. The opening and closing speeches by His Majesty to the
Legislative Assembly focus around Tongs's accomplishments and hopes for
276 the future. The speeches to the assembled individuals serve the same function
574 as the speeches given at the *'inasi* BUT it is the activities associated with the
[186] agricultural shows with the formal *Taumafa kava* which provide the
contemporary "seal of approval" on Tongan life.

The individual island shows last for several days and the circuit of the
543 entire archipelago for all of the shows can last several weeks. The shows are
484 complete with dancing, the presentation of foodstuffs to His Majesty (for
643 redistribution to the Royal Party), and involve the judging of livestock, crops,
traditional Tongan handicrafts (including *kava* bowls, Tongan "wooden
[526] pillows" or *kali*, and fine mats). Competition between various individuals
(and villages) takes place in the form of soccer, horse and bicycle racing,
foodstuff and fine mat presentation.

In brief, what was once performed on the Island of Tongatapu under
178 the rubric of the *'inasi* ceremony now takes place on the various islands under
651 the rubric of "yearly agriculture show."

543 The *'inasi* was a combination of "public amusement" and "religious
observance" and the agriculture shows today are a combination of amuse-
543 ment and religious re-dedication to the land. Speeches at the agriculture
[651] shows deal with the accomplishments of the previous agricultural year and
[537] the role of religion in Tongan life. When His Majesty travels to each of the
543 shows on the various islands (Niua'fou, Niuatoputapu, Vava'u, Ha'apai, and
643 'Eua) the traditional homages are accorded him on each of the islands: dances
276 are performed, baked food is given as a welcome, and the eventual *Taumafa*
574 *kava* takes place. The *Taumafa kava*, with His Majesty as the guest of honor at
the various islands, provides all assembled Tongans with a sense of belonging
[186] to Tonga. His Majesty is accompanied by special *matapules* who see that the
[644] *kava* circle is arranged properly. His Majesty receives the first bowl of *kava*
and then the other assembled island dignitaries receive theirs, in descending

order of rank. The contemporary *Taumafa kava* at the shows provides 543
Tongans with observable and symbolic Tongan unity of a regular basis. 643

The *Taumafa kava* is not only important at the yearly shows, but it also 276
played a key part of His Majesty's installation as Monarch in 1967. The 1967 574
ceremony provided the entire archipelago with the essence of Tonga. A "dual
installation" actually took place. A formal European-type installation was 643
held on the 4th of July but on the 6th of July the *Taumafa kava* circle 276
consisting of some 290 important Tongans was created to provide the "seal of 574
approval" on His Majesty's installation. Of the 1967 event Grosvenor has 644
pointed out:

> Two days after the Christian coronation [on July 4], the Tongan 643
> monarch sat down in a circle with his chiefs for the kava ceremony.
> Outsiders are not invited to this ancient rite in which the chiefs 276
> acknowledge him as King. . . . THE CEREMONIAL DRINKING OF 574
> KAVA FORMALIZES TONGAN ANNOUNCEMENTS AND TITLES 644
> (1968:343).

Another view of the 1967 installation and coronation is provided by Inder: 186

> There were two [coronations]. There was a Westminister Abbey-type spectacle on the Tuesday, when they dressed in ermine, brocades, coronets, medals, three-cornered hats and toppers, cutaways, and striped morning suits of Victorian vintage. Then there was the *taumafakava*, or traditional installation, on the Thursday, when the king and his nobles and *matapules* - with mats around their middles - formed a great egg-shaped kava ring so the king could hear them pay him allegiance in Polynesian fashion. For Tongans, both installations were a success. . . . For most Tongans the kava ceremony is the real installation of the king. From all the outlying islands the chiefs had come to drink kava with their monarch, and thus the ordinary man in Tonga was left in no doubt of the authority of his chiefs. They were the men who had sealed their order in the great kava ring.
>
> There had been two rehearsals for the chapel ceremony, both private, and there was one for the royal kava installation, the previous week. This rehearsal was a vital one, for at it, in the absence of the king, the nobles and the matapules had argued out the strict order of seniority (1967:45-47).[8]

The *Taumafa kava*, whether it takes place at installation ceremonies or 643
yearly agricultural shows, is the way in which Tongans have maintained (and 276
continue to perpetuate) their cultural identity. No less a personage than the
Honorable V'ahala (a leading authority on Tongan traditions and Governor of 574
Ha'apai) has stated about the *Taumafa kava* ceremony that: 186

> Before the Christian faith came to this country, the organizing of the country relied mostly on this ceremony which was a meeting place for the people. In this circle the Traditions, Cultures, and Customs were taught and discussed . . . [Translation provided by the Tongan Traditions Committee] (1959:4).

643 The *Taumafa kava* ceremony helps to maintain Tongan culture to this day.
276 With increasing change, Tongans are maintaining their cultural identity by
574 means of [1] increased informal *kava* consumption and [2] creation of the
"agricultural shows" with the accompanying formal *Taumafa kava* ceremony.
186
[543]

Conclusions

121 The question was raised "why the persistence of *kava* drinking over the
years and the apparent increase and interest in *kava* consumption since
276 alcoholic beverages are readily available?" The interpretations presented in
178 this paper stress that [1] *kava* drinking of all types has been the way in which
Tongans have maintained their cultural identity over the years; [2] *kava*
121 drinking has provided and continues to provide an important "safety valve"
276 feature which allows for informal discussion of contemporary problems;
178 [3] *kava* drinking provides a necessary "seal of approval" on virtually all
186 important Tongan events, from birth to death in the life cycle; and [4] *kava*
drinking is decidedly "Tongan" as opposed to the *kava-palangi* of non-
182 Tongans. Tongans prefer to identify with Tongans rather than identify with
non-Tongans.

276 There are two types of *kava* drinking in Tonga: those occasions on
574 which the reigning Monarch is absent and those occasions on which the
Monarch is present. The presence of the reigning Monarch constitutes a
643 *Taumafa kava* and it is the only occasion when one can predict with any
certainty as to the serving order of the *kava*. The precedence of serving for all
non-*Taumafa kava* sessions (whether termed *fai-kava* or *'ilo kava*) depend on
the occasion and those present.

121 As Tongans continue to undergo rapid change in the latter third of the
twentieth century, one can predict a continued increase in *kava* consumption
276 since *kava* drinking is the focal point for the maintenance and perpetuation of
186 Tongan unity and identity. One observes this increase in the activities
[543] concerning the yearly agricultural shows.

A *kava* drinking session is a model of Tongan society and the scale of
the model merely shifts as on goes from the various non-*Taumafa kava*
sessions to the *Taumafa kava* ceremony. Increasing *kava* consumption
patterns are a reflection of a greater (and growing) awareness of what it
means to be a Tongan in the twentieth century. Paraphrasing Oliver, Tongans
appear Western but have remained Tongan (1962:179), or as Inder stated
concerning the dual features of His Majesty's 1967 coronation, "Thus, in the
end, Tongan and Western influences shared the billing, as usual, the Tongan
121 way the more dominant" (1967:47). When the ratio between *kava* consump-
276 tion patterns and alcoholic consumption patterns shifts towards a prepon-
273 derance of alcohol consumption, Tonga will indeed have some problems for

this will be an indication that the basic fabric of their culture and society has 121
shifted.
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NOTES

1. This is a revised version of a paper presented at the Third Annual Meeting of the 121
Association for Socail Anthropology in Oceania (March 13-17, 1974) for a
Symposium on "Alcohol and Kava Use in the Pacific Islands." Research was 186
conducted in Tonga from July to October of 1970 and from August to October of 524
1971. In the intervening months archival research was conducted in the major
libraries of Fiji, New Zealand, and Australia, with most of the research being done in 276
the Mitchell Library, Sydney, Australia.
2. There is at least one other alcohol-dispensing club in the Kingdom, namely the [101]
"Vava'u Club" in Vava'u. Since my work in Tonga a new hotel has opened in Vava'u, [127]
and alcohol prices probably follow the prices of the hotels on Tongatapu. It should
be pointed out that in 1970 and 1971 the various clubs and hotels were selling 275
beverages in obvious violation of Tonga's "Blue Laws" which (theoretically) forbid 273
essentially all non-religious business activities on Sundays.
3. For further information on rank and title see Urbanowicz 1973 114. 795
4. Tongans not only presented *kava* roots to important individuals but also took *kava* [527]
roots on visits to important places. The Wesleyan Missionary W. Cross, in the islands
from 1827 to 1833 and again from 1834 to 1835, pointed this out: "The [Tongan] [656]
Chief observed that on former occasions when they visited and [*sic.*] island it was
their custom to take large pieces of *kava* for the gods; and that to Nomuka alone they 276
used to take at least 10 pieces" (Cross 1830b).
5. A similar detailed description from Hobbs supports the idea of title removal and land 574
distribution at a kava ceremony: "A 'fai Kava' i.e. meeting for drinking Kava took 554
place at Nuku'alofa on Tuesday the 18th at which [Jiosaia] Tubou presided of 113
course as the Tui-kanokubolu. Taufa-ahou [also known as King George Tupou] and
all the other principal persons were there, and word was sent to Lavaka at the Bea to 276
come and attend before our people and Taufa-ahou left the Island, but Lavaka [still]
refused. The ceremony therefore proceeded without Lavaka. THE PRINCIPAL 574
OBJECT OF THE KAVA MEETING WAS TO STATE OFFICIALLY FROM THE
TUI-KANOKUBOLU WHO WAS THE[N] [TO] OCCUPY THE GOVERNMENT IN 609
THE DIFFERENT DISTRICTS IN TONGA since the rebellion; and the principal
things affected by this appointment are as follows: Old Fatu who was the Ist heathen 425
[or non-Wesleyan] chief who submitted, and who had now come to Nukualofa to the
Tui-kanokubolu has got a considerable augmentation of his power in being appointed 276
Tui-Hahake. OLD LAVAKA IS OFFICIALLY DEPRIVED OF ALL HIS POWER BY 574
THE APPOINTMENT OF OLD SEMI AND FOKE as Tuihaamea, because the fortress 694
at the Bea stands in Haamea" [all STRESS added] (Hobbs *Journal*: April 22, 1837).
6. I witnessed a *Taumata kava* ceremony on the island of 'Eua over the period 558
14 September to 17 September, 1971, having travelled to the island with the royal
part on *H.M.V. Kao.* Enroute to 'Eua from the island of Tongatapu, a journey of 651
some four hours, I was fortunate to have approximately a three hour and forty-five 178
minute private discussion with His Majesty King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV (on just about
everything under the Tongan sun, including *kava*). Much of my thinking about *kava* 543
has been influenced by my discussions with His Majesty AS WELL AS by numerous 643
discussions with other Tongans, of all ranks. I also took part in numerous kava 123
ceremonies in Tonga occasionally where I was treated as the guest of honor.
7. The *'inasi* ceremony was not only an important ceremony in aboriginal Tongan 115
society but it also had parallels in other parts of Polynesia (Goldman 1970 134; and 276
Sahlins 1958 24-25). The Tongans were a horticultural people and indeed, today, 574
agriculture along with "tourism" are the mainstays of the Tongan economy. The yam

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[171]
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64: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970,1971) 1976 OU9 Tonga OU9

651 or *'ufi* was the main crop and W. Cross wrote "the yam is a vegetable that is to the
inhabitants of Tonga, what bread is to many in our native land" (Cross 1830a). The
649 aboriginal Tongan names of the respective parts of the year were based on the lunar
month and thirteen separately designated time periods (Dyson *Papers 1858-1908*:
776 April 7, 1863). These names clearly show the importance of the yam to the Tongans
782 and Thomas wrote that the month of June was termed "Hilinga kelekele" by the
241 Tongans and that "they expect the soil to produce forth now" and of the yams at
this time of the year that they are "the earliest and the best yams." For the month of
805 October, Thomas wrote "Ooloo enga – Uluega" which is *'Ulenga* for "ooloo, the
head, enga yellow" and at this time the yams "became yellow" (Thomas 1827: no
page).

643 8. This same aspect of a "dual installation" also took place when His Majesty's mother,
Queen Salote Tupou III, was installed as Queen in 1918 (after the death of her father,
276 King George Tupou II). As Collocott pointed out: "a coronation ceremony in the
574 European model was followed by a native installation with appropriate kava
ceremony on the mala'e at Nuku'alofa" (1927:38).
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[443 cont.]

175 123 I believe we should have been entirely left to ourselves if we had
609 not engaged two of them to become our conductors. The discharge of
our guns, and their effect, neither excited their admiration nor
their fear; but they always appeared kind and courteous towards us.
175 Their women were, in general, [444] reserved, and turned with
609 disgust from the immodest behaviour of ungovernable seamen, some of
832 them however appeared to be of easy virtue, and beckoned to our
people with lascivious gestures."

175 The next morning early the captain went on shore with us,
124 and presented the chief with a variety of garden seeds, explaining
431 by signs how useful they would prove to him. This was as yet our
175 124 only mode of conversation, though we had picked up a number of words,
197 which, by the help of the principles of universal grammar, and the
idea of dialects, we easily perceived had a great affinity with the
[114] language spoken at Taheitee and the Society Isles. O-Mai and
Mahine (or O-Hedeedee,) the two natives of Raietea and Borabora
who embarked with us, at first declared that the language was totally
new and unintelligible to them; however, when we explained to them
the affinity of several words, they presently caught the peculiar
modification of this dialect, and conversed much better with the
natives than we could have done after a long intercourse with them.
175 They were extremely well pleased with this country, but soon perceived
433 it defects, and told us there was but scanty provision of bread-fruit,
[231] few hogs and fowls, and no dogs, which was really the case. In return,
● [276] however, they liked the abundance of sugar-canes and of intoxicating
[609] pepper, of which the drink had been offered to captain Cook.

[466 cont.]

175 natives; but they all agreed in telling us, that he was their (19)

565 19. The same word in the Taheitee dialect is pronounced
197 *Aree*.

175 Areeghee or king. They added that his name was Latoo-Nipooroo, of
197 which we concluded [467] that the former part (Latoo) was a title,
171 it being same which Schouten and Le Maire, the Dutch navigators in
[565] the year 1616, found at the Cocos, Traytors, and Horne islands, which are situated in this neighbourhood, only a few degrees to the northward (20). We were confirmed in this opinion by the great

20. See Dalrymple's Historical Collection of Voyages and Discoveries in the South Pacific Ocean, 2 vols. quarto, 1771. London. Vol. II. p. 27, 28, &c.

correspondence of the vocabularies, which these intelligent seamen have left us, with the language which was spoken at Tonga-Tabboo, and still more so by the entire similarity in the behaviour and
175 customs of these islanders. The captains walked up to the Latoo,
565 and made him a number of presents, which he received with so much
431 gravity and seeming indifference, as bordered upon stupidity. Amongst
609 other things they put a shirt on him, with a great deal of trouble,
[157] because his behaviour was most aukwardly passive. He did not return any thanks for the presents which he received, till an old woman sitting behind him, had repeatedly excited him to express his
[201] gratitude. Upon this he held each separate article over his head, and pronounced the word *fagafetai*, like the meanest of his subjects.
175 The priest, who had led our captains to the places of worship, on the
565 first day after our arrival, was seated in the same circle, and drank
276 vast quantities of the intoxicating pepper-water (21), which was
415

[467 cont.]

175
565 21. Called awa at Taheitee, and kawa at Tonga-Tabboo,
276 and Horne Island.

415 [468] served in little square cups made of banana-leaves curiously folded.
175 At his desire, we were very politely presented with this dainty
276 beverage, and in pure civility tasted of it. It had a nauseous in-
[565] [609] sipid taste, which was afterwards followed by a strong pungency,
175 and its colour was somewhat milky. The holy man took such large and
565 frequent draughts of this stuff every evening, as to become perfectly
[276] intoxicated. No wonder then that his memory failed him, when he
[142] was at prayer (see p. 454)[A] that his whole habit of body was lean
and scabby, his face wrinkled, and his eyes red, and "purging thick
amber (22)." He had great authority among all the people, and a

22. Shakespeare.

number of servants attended to supply him with replenished cups.
[431] The presents which he received from us, he retained in his own
custody, whereas Attagha and several other chiefs, gave up to
their superiors whatever the captains had presented to them. The
priest had a daughter, who received many presents from our people.
[142] She was extremely well featured, and fairer than most of the women
of this country, who seemed to pay her some degree of deference. A
fairer complexion, and softer features than those of the common people,
are the natural effects of an easy inactive life, unexposed to the
blaze of a tropical sun, and pampered with a profusion of the best
000 productions of the country. Must we not conclude therefore that the
beginnings of luxury will be introduced even here under the cloak of
[469] religion, and that another nation will be added to the many
dupes of voluptuous priest-craft? So small a spark as the cunning

[A] [See pp. 43-44 of HRAF manuscript—Analyst.]

794 183 garded highly by others, and even whether or not he is regarded as a
554 good marriage prospect.

794 Because of the importance of the Church in Tongan villages and in
554 the larger society, most men try to achieve position within it. In
[793] Puke there is no ordained minister but fourteen of the village men are
[875] lay preachers (tangata malanga); one of these lay ministers acts as
[565] Sunday school teacher. The recognized head of the village church is
the noble, who is also one of the lay preachers.

The church reflects several important aspects of village life and the seating arrangement as shown in Figure 1 A illustrates several principles of Tongan behavior. Village leaders are seated close to the pulpit, the noble is seated so that he is above and separated from the rest of the congregation, and the age and sex divisions are also apparent.

794 There are several indications of the importance of the church in
793 the community. The congregation of the Puke church attempts to have an
554 574 ordained minister come and deliver a sermon at least once a month. On
such an occasion the visiting minister receives treatment appropriate
[276] to a noble. Kava is prepared for him prior to the church service and
a feast contributed to by most members of the community is held after
the service. His advice and comments on church affairs, politics,
technology, and any other subject are closely attended and almost always
accepted as the best available.

794 Another indication of the importance of the church is its schedule of activities and the fact that all activities are well attended. Below I have presented the usual weekly church schedule, which does not include

A.[See p. 34--Analyst]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 35]

137 Tongan name[1]: *kava*.

[274] [824] The roots are pulverized and used in the preparation of the beverage known as kava.

Piper puberulum (Bentham) Bentham, in Seemann, Fl. Vit., 262, as synonym, and pl. 75, 1868.

Shrub 1-3 m. tall, stems nodose. Leaves alternate, elliptic to rounded-ovate, acuminate, base from acute to shallowly cordate, very variable in size, up to 15 cm. long and as wide, palmately 7-9-nerved, main nerves branching upward, the petiole 3 cm. or less long, vaginate-winged to middle or above. Spikes solitary, axillary, up to 15 cm. or more long; fruit fleshy and red when mature. (The following two varieties occur in Tonga.)

Piper puberulum var. **puberulum.**

Lower surface of leaf blades puberulent.

Kao: on rocky slope in thin forest, May 6, 1953, *Yuncker 15874*. Seemingly rare in Tonga although rather frequent in Fiji.

Piper puberulum var. **glabrum** (C. de Candolle) A. C. Smith, Jour. Arnold Arboretum **24**: 356, 1943.

Leaf blades glabrous on both sides.

Tongatapu: common in thickets about Vaini village, Feb. 26, 1953, *Yuncker 15063*; in thicket near coast below village of Navutoka, Feb. 27, 1953, *Yuncker 15096*.

'Eua: in thicket above Fuai plantation, Mar. 20, 1953, *Yuncker 15370*; on limestone margin of sinkhole in forest near center of island, Mar. 18, 1953, *Yuncker 15323*.

Vava'u: margin of open forest above Leimatua village, May 18, 1953, *Yuncker 16024*; in thicket near upper rim of seaside limestone cliff along northwestern side of island, May 25, 1953, *Yuncker 16163*.

This variety is very common throughout Tonga, often forming extensive colonies in open forests or in partial shade. It is presumed that the specimens collected on Tongatapu by Home and on 'Eua by Lister (as reported by Hemsley) and by Crosby on Vava'u (as reported by Burkill) are this variety. Also in Fiji and Samoa. For an extensive discussion of this and other Pacific species of *Piper* see A. C. Smith (Jour. Arnold Arboretum **24**: 347-361, 1943).

P. macgillivrayi C.DC. in Hemsley's and Burkill's lists.

Tongan name: *kavakava'uli*.

[278] [824] The leaves are used in preparing medicines.

Genus **Peperomia** Ruiz and Pavon

Peperomia leptostachya Hooker and Arnott, Bot. Beechey Voy., 96, 1832.

Decumbent-ascending, pubescent, succulent herb. Leaves opposite or more commonly in whorls of three, oval to obovate, usually acute at both ends, up to 5 or 6 cm. long and 2-3 cm. wide, palmately five-nerved, petiole up to 1 cm. long. Spikes slender, axillary and terminal, up to 10 cm. or more long; fruit scarcely 1 mm. long, globose-subobovoid, viscid.

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[1] /Piper methysticum -- Analyst/

278 layer, which might contain foreign matter,
is removed by scraping. The inner bark is
then removed and utilized in medicines.

An important ingredient in many plant
remedies is "Tongan oil." This is prepared
by pounding together the endocarp of the
nuts of *Aleurites moluccana* with the leaves
or flowers of *Melastoma denticulatum*, *Decaspermum
fruticosum*, *Cinnamonum* spp.,
and *Coleus amboinicus*. Into the mixture is
added the oil of grated coconut flesh, and
the intermediate product is allowed to set
overnight. The following day the mass is
kneaded and pressed against a sheet of
corrugated iron, and the "Tongan oil" flows
off the sheet into a waiting basin. Fragments
of plant parts are strained out through
a piece of tapa cloth, and the remaining
mixture is left in the sun to evaporate the
moisture. The oil is then poured into glass
bottles stopped with tapa and stored until
757 ready for use (15). Massaging accompanies
most remedies, and the oil is usually used
for this massaging.

753 Illnesses have been categorized into three
divisions by Collocott (7). One large group
is characterized by illnesses thought to be
752 caused by ghosts of deceased relatives. The
second group comprises disorders such as
broken bones or sprains which are called
753 *fasi* and are usually treated by massage. The
third class is composed of skin disorders and
include boils, ulcers, rashes, and tumors.
Thi class is known in Tonga as *hangatamaki*.

276 Several questions pertaining to folk medicine
in Tonga remain unanswered. Why is
there no record present or past of the employment
of hallucinogenic or narcotic plants
by the Tongan in his medical or religious
rites? Has there been less need for these
agents than in many areas of South America
and Asia? Have these Pacific islanders been
137 less inquisitive about their flora? There are
several plants used as psychomimetics or
narcotics in other parts of the world that are
found in Tonga: *Datura stramonium* L. (5),
Capsicum sp. (26), *Solanum nigrum* L. (21),
and a few species contain ergoline alkaloids
capable of producing psychomimetic reactions.
The plants include *Ipomoea pescaprae*
(L.) Sweet, *Argyreia nervosa* (Burm.
f.) Bojer, and *Stictocardia tiliifolia* (Desrou.)
000 Hallier.[2] Barrau (2) reports *Zingiber*

278 Borneo, Australia, the Marianas, the Philippines, and Polynesia.

[171] [757] A drink made from an infusion of the bark is taken in Tonga to treat *fefi'uloto*, a term which I am not able to translate.

278

OLEACEAE
(Olive Family)

137 JASMINIUM SIMPLICIFOLIUM Forst. f.
tutu'uli

This vine, occasional in Tonga, is found in Australia, the Solomon Islands, the New Hebrides, Fiji, and Polynesia.

278 171 Quisumbing (21) reports wide usage of this genus in other countries.

278 757 In Tonga an infusion of the pounded leaves is valued in treating cases of relapsed illness; an infusion of the bark provides a treatment for jaundice ("person yellow") and for ulcers. Koch (15) reports that the leaves are utilized to cure headaches: the left or right side of the leaf is chosen, according to which side of the head is aching, and then six of them are chewed inside a piece of fresh tapa cloth until the juices mixed with saliva flow freely. This liquid is then dripped into both eyes and nostrils. This kind of preparation is rare.

278

OXALIDACEAE
(Wood Sorrel Family)

137 OXALIS CORNICULATA L.
kihikihi

This small pantropical herb is common throughout Tonga.

278 171 In the Philippines the leaves are considered antiscorbutic and the juice of the leaves is used for cleaning wounds and for itches. A decoction of the leaves is taken for fevers and dysentery. It is also reported by Quisumbing (21) that the fresh juice of the leaves relieves *Datura* intoxication.

278 757 An infusion of the leaves is used in Tonga to cure convulsions in infants.

PIPERACEAE
(Pepper Family)

278

137 PIPER METHYSTICUM Forst. f.
kava

276 This shrub is found in most Tongan vil-

278
137 lages and is distributed widely throughout the Pacific Islands.

276 In Samoa (12) the root is used in treating gonorrhea. In New Caledonia the leaves
278 are chewed to cure bronchitis, and in New
171 Guinea the plant is taken as a tonic and soporific and is said to be valuable in treating gonorrhea and inflammations of the uterus (3). In Fiji the roots are pulverized and a drink prepared which has sedative
[276] properties. The employment of the roots in making a drink is widespread in Tonga and other Pacific Islands; detailed chemical and pharmacological analysis has been undertaken and is reviewed by Keller and Klohs (13).

278
757 In Tonga, the yellow leaves are sometimes pounded and an infusion used to soothe crying infants.

278
137
Piper puberulum (Benth.) Benth. var. **glabrum** (C. DC.) A. C. Sm.
kavakava'uli

This variety is very common in Tonga and occurs also in Fiji and Samoa.

278
171 In Fiji the leaves are chewed until moist and applied to wounds.

278
757 In Tonga the inner bark is boiled and the resulting liquid drunk in cases of filariasis and other inflammations. Boils are commonly treated by application of the pounded leaves.

278
137

POLYPODIACEAE
(Common Fern Family)

Phymatodes scolopendria (Burm.) Ching
laufale

This fern is common in plantations and waste areas throughout the archipelago. It is found also in Africa, Australia, Ceylon, southern China, Madagascar, Malaysia, and New Zealand.

278
137 The smoke given off when this plant is heated over a fire is inhaled in regions of New Guinea to relieve catarrh (27). In Niue the leaves are used medicinally (31).

278
757 In Tonga an infusion of the pounded leaves or bark is prescribed for infants suffering from filariasis. It is considered a promising sign if this brings out a rash. The pounded leaves are also applied to boils.

[p. 443-B]

121 disguised representation of unconscious thoughts and wishes. A ceremony is a condensed and partially disguised representation of certain aspects of social life. A dream and a ceremony both serve a double and contradictory function: they release and communicate dangerous thoughts and emotions; but at the same time they disguise and transform them so that the element of danger is contained and to some extent dealt with. An effective ceremony protects society from destructive forms of conflict; an effective dream protects the sleeper from anxiety.

Of course there are important differences between a dream and a ceremony. A dream is the product of an individual; a ceremony is the product of a group. Dreams reflect unconscious thoughts. Some of the ideas and emotions expressed in ceremonies are unconscious, but many others are not so much unconscious as unformulated. Just as one can speak a language correctly without being able to formulate its grammatical rules, so one can play one's part in social life and in a ceremony without understanding how all the parts and principles fit together. Further, many of the symbolic statements made in a ceremony concern social norms and values of which the participants are consciously aware.

276 574 178 The basic events of the kava ceremony are very simple. A group of people pound up the root of a kava plant, mix it with water, and drink it. But all this is done according to a fixed ceremonial procedure that has hardly varied for at least 160 years. We have a good description of the ceremony dating from 1806 (Mariner, 1818, vol. 2, pp. 172–96) and the verbal orders and the actions performed have hardly changed at all, with one important exception. The kava root used to be chewed and then mixed with water, whereas nowadays it is pounded with stones.

276 [137] The botanical name of the kava plant is *Piper methysticum.* It contains several chemical constituents and there is considerable controversy about their physiological effects. The general conclusions are that it has a slight tranquillizing and anaesthetic action, though the effects are very mild. Tongans, however,

treat kava as if it were strong stuff. And so it is, but the strength 276
comes from society, not from the vegetable kingdom.[3]

Before I describe the ceremony, here are a few background
facts about the Kingdom. Tonga is a Polynesian society consisting 105
of about 150 small islands with a population of about [161]
70,000 people. It has a Treaty of Friendship with Great [648]
Britain, but has always been independent, never a colony, a
fact of which Tongans are very proud. The people have been [779]
Christian for 130 years and virtually everyone can read and [212]
write. Tongans practise subsistence farming on small holdings, [241]
with coconuts and bananas as the main cash crops. There are [434]
no extremes of wealth or poverty. For the past 100 years [642]
government has assumed the form of a constitutional monarchy.
Anyone who saw Queen Sālote of Tonga at the coronation
of Queen Elizabeth in 1953 will not be likely to forget
her. She is as memorable in Tonga as she is in Britain. She died [643]
in December 1965 and was succeeded by her eldest son, the
present King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV.

DESCRIPTION OF THE CEREMONY

The basic form of the kava ceremony is always the same, though 276
it may vary from a small informal gathering of four or five 574
people to a huge assemblage of several hundred people. It can be dressed up or down as the occasion requires. It takes place on many different sorts of occasion: when men visit each other just to talk; when welcoming home relatives who have been away; in courtship; at weddings; at certain points in a funeral; at the appointment of a king and later on at his coronation; and similarly at the appointment of a chief and on the occasion when he first presents himself and his villagers to his King.

Figures 1 and *2* show the seating at an informal and at a
formal ceremony. The participants sit cross-legged, with the 276
chief whose title is genealogically the most senior at the head of 574
the circle. He has an official called a matāpule on either side of 565 [516]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 210]

● 276
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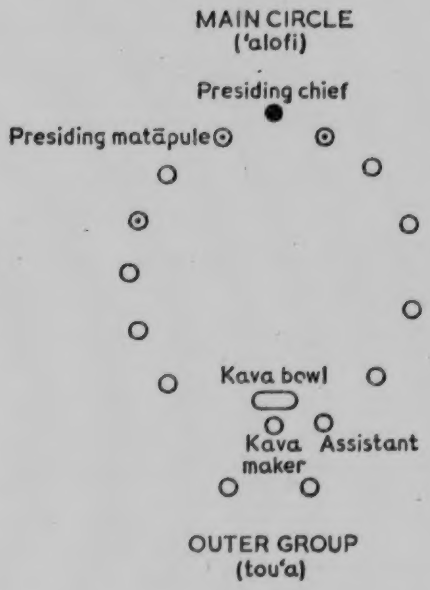
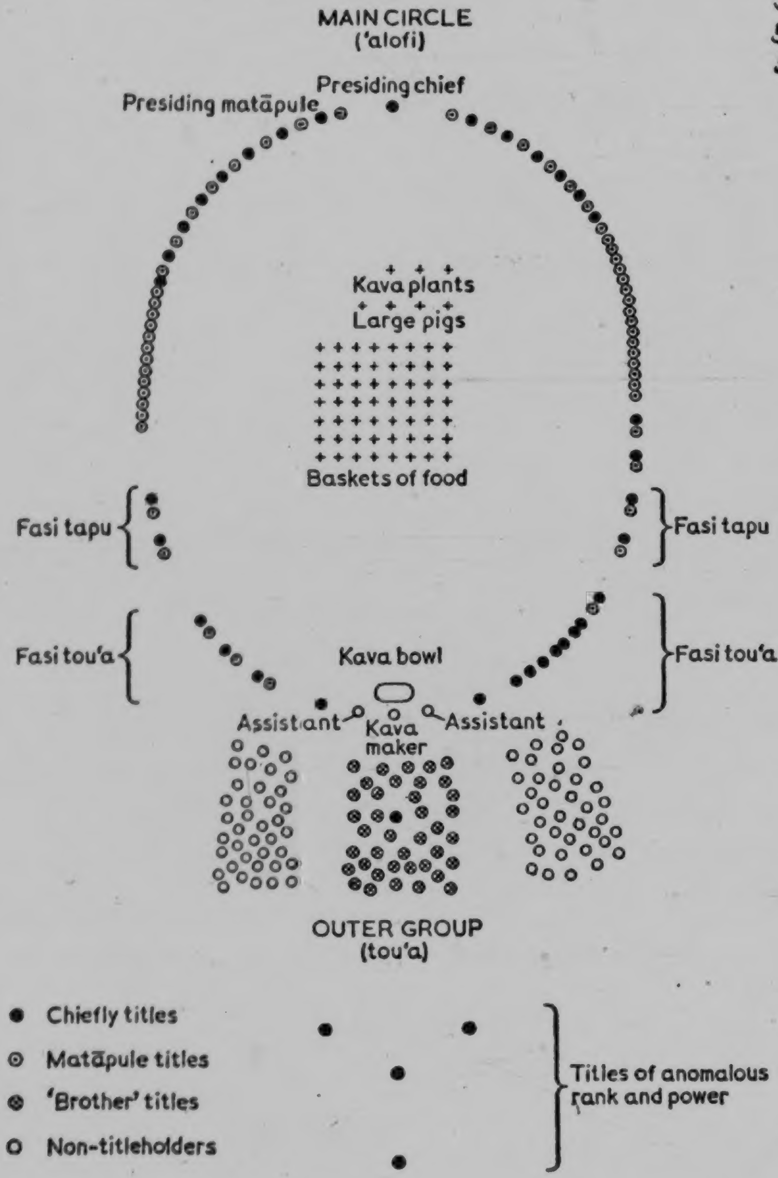
Figure 1 Schematic diagram of seating at small informal kava ceremony


MAIN CIRCLE
('alofi)
Presiding chief
Presiding matāpule
Kava bowl
Kava maker
Assistant
OUTER GROUP
(tou'a)

●	Chiefly titles	Titles are hereditary in the male line. Traditionally chiefs held political authority, most of which was transferred to central government at the time of the modern constitution, in 1875
⊙	Matāpule titles	Ceremonial attendants of chiefs. Matāpule titles are hereditary in the male line.
○	Non-titleholders	

Figure 2 Schematic diagram of seating at formal royal kava ceremony

276
574
565
554


MAIN CIRCLE
('alofi)
Presiding chief
Presiding matāpule
Kava plants
Large pigs
Baskets of food
Fasi tapu
Fasi tapu
Fasi tou'a
Kava bowl
Fasi tou'a
Assistant
Kava maker
Assistant
OUTER GROUP
(tou'a)
● Chiefly titles
⊙ Matāpule titles
⊗ 'Brother' titles
○ Non-titleholders
Titles of anomalous rank and power

[p. 209]

276 him. These matāpule are the hereditary ceremonial attendants
574 of chiefs, their duties being to conduct their chief's kava cere-
565 mony and to give and receive gifts on his behalf. The matāpule
have never held political authority. The chiefly title holders, on
the other hand, used to have political authority, though now-
adays much of it has been transferred to the central government.

The rest of the main circle (*'alofi*) is composed of other chiefs and matāpule sitting alternately. There are always more matāpule than chiefs, however, so that after the first few places matāpule sit next to one another. In the part of the main circle nearest the bowl (*fasi tapu* and *fasi tou'a*) some chiefs and matāpule sit in pairs, and some minor chiefs sit on their own.

In theory the seating of the various chiefs in the main circle
demonstrates the genealogical position of their titles relative
to that of the presiding chief. The title of the presiding chief is
supposed to be genealogically senior, and the other chiefly
titles in the main circle are supposed to have been derived from
[622] his line at later points in time. Although each chiefly titleholder
sits as an individual, he also represents the village over which
[622] he has titular authority. In Tongan idiom he is more than a
representative; the title is the embodiment of the village and
its history.

In a large formal ceremony all the people in the main circle
276 have to have been formally appointed to chiefly or matāpule
574 titles. Women, who do not normally hold titles or wield political
565 titles. Women, who do not normally hold titles or wield political
562 authority, thus do not sit in the main circle. (The Queen, who
554 held the ruling title, Tu'i Kanokupolu, was of course an excep-
[643] tion to this general rule. In the traditional system kings and
[177] chiefs were almost invariably men, but British rules of succes-
sion to the kingship were adopted in 1875.) In a small informal
ceremony the people in the main circle do not have to have been
formally appointed to titles; they can use the name of a matā-
pule title they are descended from, or, failing that, they can
use their personal names. Women can therefore sit in the main
circle on such informal occasions if they want to.

The kava bowl is opposite the presiding chief. The bowl is 276
three or four yards away from the chief in a small ceremony, 574
some two hundred yards away in a large royal ceremony. The kava maker sits behind the bowl with an assistant on either side of him. There is a group of people behind the bowl who help to make and serve the kava (the 'outer group' – *tou'a*). In a small informal ceremony the outer group is often very small. It is sometimes reduced to the bare minimum necessary to carry out the ceremony – the kava maker, one assistant, and someone to serve the kava. In a large formal ceremony the outer group is larger and more elaborately structured.

In a very large royal kava ceremony, such as that represented
in *Figure 2*, the outer group is divided into three parts. In the 276
centre group sit men who are the holders of minor titles that 574
stand in the relation of 'younger brother' (*tehina*) to certain of 554
the titles in the main circle. It is the titles that are brothers, not 565
the men. In the beginning, when the titles are supposed to have originated, the first titleholders are said to have been actual brothers, and this relation has continued to exist between the titles even though the men who hold the titles may no longer be linked by kinship. 'Our titles are brothers but we are not related', as Tongans put it.[4]

The right-hand portion of the outer group (that is, the portion to the right of the presiding chief) is composed of people without titles. In theory anyone can sit in the outer group at a kava ceremony, but at a formal ceremony most of those who attend are the 'children' (*fānau*) of the titles in the main circle, meaning that they are descendants of former holders of the titles. Some of the people who sit in this part of the outer group serve the kava during the ceremony. Others are called 'grandchildren of high rank' (*makapuna 'eiki*). This means that they had a grandfather who held one of the titles in the main circle, and their kinship relation to the present titleholder is such that they have higher personal rank than the current titleholder. They play an important part in the ceremonial distribution of food during the ceremony. Many of the

276 574 'children' and 'grandchildren' in this part of the outer group are women.

554 565 The left-hand portion of the outer group is also composed of 'children' of the titles. Most of the people in this group are men, and they do the heavy work of the ceremony – carrying the kava, pigs, and other food in and out, dividing the food for distribution, and so forth. The path between this group and the central group is called the 'path of work' (*hala ngāue*), whereas the path between the right-hand group and the centre group is called the 'sacred path' (*hala tapu*).

Finally, at a formal royal ceremony, there are certain very important chiefly titles that are seated right at the back, behind the outer group (see *Figure 2*).

To summarize the salient facts about the seating: the chief whose title is genealogically senior sits at the head of the main circle; the rest of the main circle is made up of formally appointed titleholders, chiefs and matāpule, sitting alternately. The titles of the chiefs in the main circle are supposed to be genealogically junior to the title of the presiding chief. The outer group is composed, first, of men who hold minor chiefly titles that stand in the relation of 'younger brother' to the titles in the main circle and, second, of men and women without titles who are the 'children' and in a few cases also the 'grandchildren' of the titles in the main circle.

276 The first thing that happens in the ceremony is that people
574 come in and seat themselves. Kava plants and sometimes food
are presented to the presiding chief and placed in the centre
[262] of the circle (see *Figure 2*). The traditional food to go with the
kava is sugar cane, but vast quantities of pigs and other cooked
[262] food are presented along with it. Nowadays the sugar cane is
often omitted. In a formal ceremony the food is meticulously
counted and thanks for it are chanted by the matāpule. Then
the presiding matāpule tells someone on the outer group to take a
kava plant from in front of the presiding chief down to the
bowl end, where it is split up, cleaned, and then pounded by
the kava maker. (Traditionally small bits of the kava root were

handed to people in the outer group who chewed it, spat it out 276
neatly on to a leaf, and then handed it back to the kava maker 574
who put it in the bowl.) The kava maker puts the pounded kava root in the bowl and begins to knead it with his hands, and water is poured in by the kava maker's assistants – all of these actions being carried out according to fixed ceremonial orders chanted by the presiding matāpule. The pouring in of the water is one of the most sacred moments of the ceremony and all conversation stops. Then the matāpule calls out to mix the kava and to strain it. While the kava maker is straining the 276
kava conversation is resumed, speeches may be made, and if 574
there is food some of it is ceremonially divided and distributed 264
to each titleholder in the main circle. The titleholders do not eat their food, however. They call for their respective 'grandchildren of high rank' to come from the outer group and take the portions of food away. Then all the remaining food is ceremonially given to the matāpule on the left of the presiding chief, who orders men from the outer group to take it away. After the ceremony is over this food is divided among the participants.

Eventually, after the flurry of activity in distributing and 276
removing the food, the kava maker's assistant calls out that the 574
kava is clear and the matāpule gives the order for servers to come from the outer group with cups. A cup of kava is taken to each person in the main circle and to several in the outer group. Generally when the serving is completed the ceremony is ended. It may be continued, but in this case the second serving is directed by the matāpule on the chief's left. An informal kava ceremony may go on all night, alternating from right to left.

To recapitulate the sequence of ceremonial operations: the participants seat themselves; kava and food are presented and counted; a kava root is pounded and placed in the bowl; the kava is kneaded and water is poured in; the kava is strained, to the accompaniment of conversation or speeches and the distribution and clearing away of food; finally, cups of kava are served.

● 276 574 The first kava ceremony I saw was a small informal one, so informal that I did not realize it was a ceremony. I noticed an old man mumbling away from time to time – in fact he was giving ceremonial orders – and I saw that there were occasional lulls in the conversation, but I thought they were natural pauses not especially sacred moments in a ceremony. The first royal ceremony I saw was an entirely different affair. From the first moment when the food and kava were brought in with cries of 'Tue, tue, tue, tue, tue – e – e', and the matāpule chanted their thanks, the atmosphere was electric – charged with an intense feeling of being together in a group. The kava, the ceremony, and the group were sacred – *tapu*. I have never felt anything like it in our own society except at the coronation of Queen Elizabeth, where it seemed to me that our mutual indifference to anything outside our own little circle was lost for a moment in a common feeling of being one nation.

121 How does one set about understanding such a ceremony? It is not much use asking people point-blank what it means any more than it would be useful to ask an individual what his dream means. To such questions Tongans reply politely, 'It is our custom,' and that is the end of the matter. What one should not do, either with a dream or a ceremony, is plunge headlong into arbitrary interpretations of symbolism. While this may be a useful intellectual exercise for the anthropologist or the psychoanalyst, it does not bring him much closer to the new and unique bit of reality he is trying to understand. It would be like trying to interpret a dream without knowing anything about the dreamer – no associations, no transference, no background knowledge of the dreamer's current life and childhood.

To understand a ceremony one needs to know something about the social context. One can also learn a lot by listening to what people say spontaneously and following up their leads. One can ask certain direct questions, such as why people sit where they sit, why the kava is used instead of another plant, or what the properties of kava are, without running into the blank wall of 'It is our custom.' One can ask people to explain the differences between one type of kava ceremony and another. 121 I think this process of exploration is analogous to the use of patients' associations to dreams.

In the course of talking around the ceremony several informants told me the myth of the origin of kava, which proved to be a useful lead. I recorded two versions of the myth and [126] there are others in the literature (Gifford, 1924, pp. 71–5). Their points of similarity and difference helped to clarify the [115] central theme of the myth but I only have time for one version, which is the one recorded by the late Queen Sālote.

THE MYTH OF THE ORIGIN OF KAVA

One day the King of Tonga went fishing with a friend. They 539 did not catch anything, and as they were tired and hungry 773 they called in at the little island of 'Eueiki to get something to 276 eat. At that time there was only one couple living on the island and they had one child, a daughter, whose name was Kava'onau. (In some versions the name is abbreviated to 'Kava'.) She had leprosy. It was a time of famine and the only food the couple had left was a large kape plant (Alocasia macrorrhiza) which stood near the beach. When the King landed he sat down to rest against this plant. When the couple realized who their guest was they set about making an earth oven, but when they came to get their sole remaining food plant they could not use it because the King was leaning on it. The King's friend saw the couple hit something in their house and bring it out to be baked in the earth oven. He saw that they had killed their daughter because they had nothing else to give their King. The King's friend told the King what the couple had done. The King was deeply moved by their sacrifice. He rose up immediately and returned to the main island, telling the couple to bury their child properly.

Two plants grew from the grave, one from the head and one from the foot. One day the couple saw a mouse bite the

539 first plant, stagger a bit, and then bite the second plant, after
773 which he recovered his balance.

276 One day Lo'au came to the island and the couple told him all that had happened. (Lo'au is a figure who turns up in Tongan legend and mythology at times when social institutions are being established or changed. He tells the people how to organize their social life and then fades from view. He is thought of as human, not a god, and he is called the 'carpenter of the land', which, freely translated, means the establisher of social customs.)

When Lo'au heard the couple's story he sat in silence for a time, deeply moved, and then he spoke in poetry telling them what they should do. They must take the two plants to the King and give him Lo'au's instructions about how the plants should be used. The one from the head was to be used to make a drink, and that was the kava, and the other was to be eaten with the drink, and that was the sugar cane. The couple did as Lo'au had told them. At first the King thought their plant might be poisonous. He had one of his matāpule taste it first. But on finding it was all right he directed the people to carry out Lo'au's instructions.

And so kava was made for the first time and the rules and procedures for making it were established.

276 Tongans say that the origin of the kava from the leprous girl explains some of its properties. The shoots of the kava plant grow, split, and become limey and grey like the skin of a leper, and the skin of those who drink too much kava becomes grey and scaly like the skin of a leper. There are other linguistic
[226] links with the idea of kava as a poison. *Kavafisi* and *kavahaha*
are creepers used as fish poisons. The word '*kavahia*' means
[266] to be nauseated. Some informants told me that they felt
nauseated when they drank strong green kava, and nausea is said to have been the Tongan reaction to attempts to copy the Fijian custom of *actually* eating human flesh.[5] At the same time, in other contexts Tongans said that kava loosened the tongue and made one feel pleasantly relaxed. Thus there is a series of

associations between kava, tranquillity, leprosy, poison, nausea, and cannibalism. It may seem odd that tranquillity should appear alongside ideas of poison, nausea, and cannibalism, but I hope the reasons for this strange juxtaposition will become clearer as the exposition proceeds. 276

INTERPRETATION

The first point is that *the kava ceremony is one of a series of ceremonies that clarify social principles and social rôles.* In the kava ceremony the principle of stratification by titles is marked off as clearly as possible from all other forms of social differentiation. This aspect of the ceremony is conscious and explicit. Many Tongans told me, 'Everything in the kava ceremony goes by titles.' 276 574 565 554

In the traditional political system, chiefly titles carried formal political authority. A chiefly titleholder had the right and obligation to rule and to represent all the inhabitants of a given territory. The kava ceremony displayed the political relationships of titles to one another. 565 554

This emphasis on titles only makes sense when one knows that in the traditional system, and to a considerable extent today as well, there were two other systems of social differentiation that were very important in everyday life though they played a very minor role in the kava ceremony; these two other systems of social differentiation were political power and personal rank.[6] [178]

Any man who could gather about him a large and industrious group of relatives and friends could become a political leader in the traditional system. This dimension of political power cut across the system of titles. Some powerful leaders did not hold titles. Some chiefly titleholders were strong leaders of large and powerful local groups; others were politically unimportant.

The third system, that of personal rank, is the same today as it was in the traditional system. The rewards of high rank are gifts of food and elaborate gestures of deference from people [178]

565 The system of chiefly titles and political authority has also
554 changed. In 1875 at the time of the Constitution most of the
178 authority of the chiefly titleholders was transferred to the central
642 government. In compensation for their loss, about forty of the more important and powerful chiefs were given the new European title of 'noble' (*nopele* in Tongan) and were given a special
[646] position in the central government. They could elect seven of their peers to the legislative assembly. At the present time being a noble gives one a considerable initial advantage in acquiring political authority, though one must also be educated.

The system of noble titles thus provides a link between the
276 old and the new systems of formal government. The kava
574 ceremony has changed accordingly. It used to be a ceremonial
565 statement of political authority; now it is a statement of con-
554 tinuity between the new political system and the old. As before,
178 principles of personal rank and political power are almost entirely excluded from the ceremony. People are seated and served according to their titles, not according to their personal rank, education, or position in government.

574 In the beginning I found the constant contradictions of rank,
554 titles, and government authority difficult to grasp. Tongans
565 assured me it was perfectly simple if one had grown up with it. But one thing that helps to keep it simple is ceremonies. Ceremonies mark off one social principle from the others and keep each principle clear in everyone's mind. At government feasts people are seated primarily according to their position in government; a commoner of low rank who is a Cabinet minister will be seated at the Queen's table. At funerals, duties depend mainly on the principles of kinship and personal rank. In the kava ceremony titles are what matter, and power and personal rank play a very minor role. Thus, if the same set of people were involved in the three types of ceremony, they would assume different positions and would have very different rela-
[276] tionships with one another in each ceremony. Hence the kava ceremony cannot be understood on its own; it is part of a complex of ceremonies.[7]

I have repeatedly said that power and personal rank are 276
'virtually' excluded from the kava ceremony. The qualifying 574
objective needs explanation. Although titles are dominant in 554
the ceremony and are supposed to be seated and served accord- 565
ing to their genealogical seniority, there are certain features of
the seating and the ceremonial procedure that link the system
of titles to the principles of political power and personal
rank.

Certain important titles are in an anomalous relation to the 554
present kingship. Two of these titles were originally senior to the 565
title of the present king. A third title had a good claim to the 643
throne at one period. A fourth title, although always junior
to the present ruling line, had a remarkably able and ambitious
series of incumbents in the eighteenth and early nineteenth
centuries. One of them broke away from the secular king (the
Tu'i Kanokupolu) and became a virtually independent ruler
of the northern islands. The power of this particular titleholder,
in other words, far outstripped the official political authority of
his title. By a series of marriages to aristocratic women, the line
increased the personal rank of its incumbents until, in the late
nineteenth century, the personal rank of the current incumbent
was considerably higher than that of the King himself. In [276]
the royal ceremony at the present time, all four of these titles [574]
are seated far away at the back, twenty yards or so behind the
outer group (see *Figure 2*). Both their distinctiveness and their
anomalous position are thus emphasized. They do not fit in.

There is one event in the ceremonial procedure itself that 574
draws attention to the principle of personal rank. This is the 276
moment when the 'grandchildren of high rank' are called from 602
the outer group to collect the portions of food allocated to the 554
titleholders in the main circle. It is a reminder to all concerned 565
that although the chiefs and nobles hold the titles, they have
relatives who are of higher personal rank.

The kava ceremony thus displays the system of titles, with 276
passing references to the two other principles of social differen- 574
tiation, personal rank and political power. It demonstrates the 554
565

276 separateness of the three principles and at the same time shows
574 how they co-exist.

554 We have no historical information on how this particular
565 form of differentiated social principles developed. It was in full
175 flower at the time of Captain Cook's visits. He confessed him-
565 554 self bewildered by the system, though he gives a clear description of behaviour from which the operation of the three principles of authority, power, and rank can be inferred.

554 Although the historical development of the system remains
565 obscure, some of its effects can be observed in operation. It
571 preserves social continuity while at the same time providing opportunities for flexibility and individual initiative. For individuals it provides a ready-made defence and a mode of adaptation to a general problem that Freud outlined long ago in *Totem and Taboo*: how are subordinates to reconcile themselves to the fact that they hate and envy the authority ('father') whom they also need and love. In the Tongan system 'authority' is split up and dispersed so that no one, not even the King, can be on top all the time. However great a man may be in one dimension, someone else will be greater in some other dimension or some other context. What you lose on the swings you gain on the roundabouts. Further, the system is such that it is difficult, even today, to mobilize consistently opposed groups of 'haves' and 'have-nots'. But it would be a mistake to regard the splitting of authority, rank, and power as a 'solution' to the problem of ambivalent feelings towards authority, for it seems very likely that each of the three systems generates its own complex of envy and rivalry. The system may generate more hatred than it disperses.

571 There are many indications in everyday life that Tongans are very sensitive about problems of authority and conflict. People avoid open expression of disagreement, while at the same time seeing to it that the authorities concerned find out indirectly about the issues involved. For example, people will agree to fulfil what they consider to be unreasonable demands by a person in authority or a person of high rank, but they will

then fail to carry out the desired activity. If confronted by their 571
lack of conformity, they disappear, or find a reasonable excuse or say they did not understand what was required of them. 'They have been leading us around for generations' as one eminent noble put it.

Possibly one factor in this general sensitivity to conflict and avoidance of open expression of it is that Tonga is an island, or rather a group of islands in close communication with one another. In a comparatively isolated group of islands more of an effort has to be made to contain and resolve internal conflicts than on a large land mass where dissidents and persecuted groups can move away without actually leaving the society.
And if the controls break down and violence actually breaks [175]
out on an island, as it did in Tonga in the early nineteenth century, the island is in for a blood bath that few can escape.

The second major point about the kava ceremony is that *it* 276
is a conserving and conservative institution. This aspect of the 574
ceremony is less explicit than the emphasis on titles. It is un- 571
formulated though certainly not unconscious. 554

The seating and serving order of the kava ceremony are a partial substitute for a written history, for the seating of each title, especially in the royal kava ceremony, is supposed to be explainable in terms of actual historical events. I was so intrigued by this aspect of the ceremony that I spent many months asking titleholders why they sat where they did in the royal kava ceremony. My husband and I were frustrated and puzzled to find that many titleholders did not know why they sat where they did. Eventually it dawned on us that this in itself was the significant point. Forgetting is selective. The seating of titles that are still politically important is known and understood. The reasons for the seating are forgotten if the titles are politically unimportant today.

Personal rank and political power can change very quickly in Tonga; it takes a long time for the titles and the kava ceremony to catch up. Two or three generations of 'bad' marriages can drastically reduce the personal rank of the man who holds

276 a title, but the title itself and its position in the kava ceremony
574 are hardly affected. Once a drop in personal rank is combined
571 with a drop in the political power and influence of the title-
554 holder, however, the rank of the title and its position in the kava ceremony gradually begin to decline as well. People start to forget the reasons for the seating of the title. Its position in the circle may be changed to accommodate a more important title. Eventually unimportant titles cease to be appointed and even their ceremonial place is forgotten.

Occasionally there is a massive reshuffle of seating arrange-
175 ments to take account of changes in political power. This hap-
643 pened after the death of the last sacred king in 1865. While the
554 sacred kingship was still in existence, the kava circle of the
276 secular king, the Tu'i Kanokupolu, included only those titles
574 that were derived from the Tu'i Kanokupolu line and were
565 genealogically junior to the Tu'i Kanokupolu title. But when
571 the sacred kingship lapsed in 1865 and the Tu'i Kanokupolu became the sole king, the titles derived from the Tu'i Tonga line had to be fitted into the Tu'i Kanokupolu's kava circle, even though many of these titles were genealogically senior to the title of the Tu'i Kanokupolu. This conflict between actual political power and the genealogical seniority of titles was surmounted by a sort of legal fiction. Before he died the last Tu'i Tonga transferred his sacred prerogatives to the Tu'i Kanokupolu. There is some doubt, however, about how he disposed of his kava prerogatives. Some say that he handed these over to the 'King of the Second House', a very ancient title that stands in the relation of 'brother' to the Tu'i Tonga title. The difficulty was solved by a marriage between the Tu'i Kanokupolu line and the 'King of the Second House' line, the end result being that the 'King of the Second House' title is now held by the Royal Family, and the present incumbent is the King's younger brother.

276 Thus the kava ceremony changes to take account of changes
574 in the power of titles, but it changes more slowly than the
554 rank and power of individuals, and the changes are phrased
571

as much as possible in the idiom of titles and their genealogical seniority. 276 574 554

571 The third major point about the ceremony is that *it expresses a fundamental contradiction*. We were first alerted to this aspect of the ceremony by comparing the many different social contexts in which it takes place. One thing all these social situations have in common is a confrontation of people of different status. In everyday life these people can be expected to harbour feelings of jealousy and resentment about their differential privileges. At the same time, in spite of the antagonisms, during the ceremony there is a strong feeling of being at harmony together in a group. As Tongans put it, 'You do not drink kava with an enemy.'

In brief, the ceremony says, 'We are all united,' but it also says, 'We are all different.' And the element of difference contains another contradiction, for it makes two contrary communications. It says, 'We are differentiated and interdependent,' but it also says, 'We are unequal. Our titles differ in seniority. And some of us do not have titles at all.' In other words the kava ceremony expresses ambivalence – the simultaneous presence of contradictory feelings. I do not mean that each participant in the ceremony becomes consciously aware of the sort of emotional ambivalence that I have described. Most people seemed to be more aware of feelings of unity and harmony than of feelings of antagonism and rivalry – or at any rate more willing to talk about feelings of unity and harmony. The feelings of antagonism showed themselves more in what people did than in what they said. [576] [516] At formal ceremonies we observed many minor breaches of *tapu*. One's hands should be clasped in one's lap throughout the ceremony, for example, but our photographs show that people often moved their hands about. [576] [521] Similarly people are not supposed to talk in a very formal ceremony, but people were whispering away almost all the time – usually uncomplimentary remarks about the way the ceremony was being conducted.

276 574 571 565 Within the prescribed events of the ceremony there is only a

276 574 571 565 little scope for the formal expression of conflict, envy, and jealousy. For example, there is one titleholder whose duty it is to see that the kava is well prepared and that everyone behaves properly. In 1959 the incumbent of this title was a man of comparatively low personal rank; he aimed his sharpest reprimands at two titleholders of very high personal rank, men whom he would never have dared to challenge in any other social context. But he was not alone; all the men of low rank relished his performance. Even in this case, the titleholder concerned was not ceremonially obliged to abuse the men of high rank. What he did was left to his own initiative.

276 574 571 In other words, the formal, prescribed events of the ceremony emphasize unity and harmony. Rivalry, jealousy, and envy are widely and consciously felt, to varying degrees, but their expression is either unofficial or is left to individual initiative.[8]

276 574 539 773 643 The myth of the origin of the kava helps to elucidate the contradictory attitudes implied in the ceremony. When the late Queen was reflecting on this myth she said it expressed the mutual sacrifice and understanding between ruler and subjects that was essential to keep Tonga united and strong. It was this mutual sacrifice and understanding the kava ceremony was commemorating. I agreed with this interpretation, but said I thought the myth also expressed suspiciousness and hostility between ruler and subjects. The couple sacrificed their most precious possession, their daughter, but she did have leprosy; eating her might have harmed the King. The King's refusal to eat her was partly an act of generosity, but he was also protecting himself. And when the couple brought in the plant, he thought at first that it might be poisonous. If I had thought of it at the time, I might have added that the couple's sacrifice was an insult to the King, for to call someone a 'man eater' is a common insult in Tonga. And, in addition to everything else, spitefulness is implied in the couple's heroic act. It is as if they were saying to their King, 'Look at the dreadful thing you have made us do.'

After some discussion the Queen said that such suspicious- 276
ness between ruler and subjects was probably inevitable and 574
natural. Perhaps what the myth and the ceremony meant was 539
that mutual understanding and sacrifice were possible in spite 773
of doubt and suspicion. 643

This was as far as I got with the myth while we were still in 276
Tonga. After we left I wished I had asked many other questions 574
about it, for it now seems to me that there are many other 539
levels of meaning and feeling in it. If I were doing the study 773
again I would ask why the little island of 'Euciki? Why the famine, the cannibalism, and, above all, the leprosy, all of which are known in Tonga but have always been rare. Why the particular food plant, the kape, and what of the many different triangular situations mentioned in the various versions of the myth? There is one issue that I think worth including even though I did not explore it fully at the time. The myth seems to deal with the progression of psychic experience from a very primitive level in which good and bad are confused and contaminated to one in which good and bad are better differentiated, so that it becomes possible to distinguish the symbol from the object. The burial, in other words, transforms the contaminated, sacrificed girl into the two plants, the kava, which is still potentially poisonous, and its antidote, the sugar cane.[9]

The kava myth helps to understand what the plant symbolizes and why Tongans regard it as strong stuff, but it does not throw much light on the actual events of the ceremony – the pounding, pouring in of water, serving, etc. For this we must turn, very briefly, to another myth that almost paraphrases some of the events of the kava ceremony. The explicit claim of this myth to relevance in connection with the kava ceremony is that it is concerned with the origin of the system of titles that the kava ceremony ceremonially displays. None of my informants pointed out the close parallel between the events of the kava ceremony and the events of the myth, though I was told the myth in the context of discussing the ceremony so

276 that there was obviously an associative link. I myself was only
574 half aware of the connections between the myth and the
539 ceremony while I was still in Tonga, I think this half-awareness
773 is similar to Tongans' feeling about the myth. A connection
is dimly felt without being explicitly thought out.

The story of the myth is simple and melodramatic. A god
276 from the sky has intercourse with a woman of the earth and a
574
539 son is born, called 'Aho'eitu. When he grows up he wants to
773 see his father and, following instructions from his mother, he
643 climbs up to the sky by a giant ironwood tree. 'Aho'eitu is enthusiastically welcomed by his father, who thinks at first that 'Aho'eitu is a god of even higher rank than himself. The father then sends his new-found son, without introduction, to see his other sons in the sky, presumably the sons of sky mothers. When 'Aho'eitu's half-brothers see everyone admiring 'Aho'eitu because of his beauty, and when they hear rumours that he is their father's son, they tear 'Aho'eitu to pieces and eat him up. The father suspects what they have done. He calls for a wooden bowl and makes his sons vomit into it. This is very reminiscent of the former custom of chewing the kava, of the statements that kava sometimes makes people feel like vomiting, and of the linguistic association with nausea. The sons vomit up 'Aho'eitu's flesh and blood, they confess, and the father sends people to collect the bones and the head, which are also put in the bowl. Water is poured into the bowl, as in the kava ceremony. The pouring in of the water, as I have noted above, is one of the most sacred moments of the ceremony. After some time 'Aho'eitu begins to take shape and finally sits up in the bowl. Then the father calls all his sons together and tells them that 'Aho'eitu will go back to the earth to become the first king of Tonga, the first Tu'i Tonga. At this point, the myth says, affection awakens in the hearts of the brothers, and they plead with their father to be allowed to go with 'Aho'eitu. The father agrees. Four of the brothers go down to earth to serve 'Aho'eitu as his matāpule. The fifth and eldest brother cannot be king, the father says, because he is guilty of murder, but he

will be the King of the Second House (Tu'i Fale Ua). If 'Aho- 276
'eitu's line should die out then the King of the Second House 574
will become King. (This is the rationale for the belief, men- 539
tioned above, that the last Tu'i Tonga bequeathed his kava 773
prerogatives to the King of the Second House.) There are 643
several other myths and legends that purport to show that all
through Tongan history the descendants of the King of the
Second House tried to murder 'Aho'eitu's descendants in order
to wipe out his line.

Using the leads provided by this myth, I think that the 276
chewing or, nowadays, the pounding of the kava is a symbolic 574
repetition of psychic cannibalism, representing a desire both 154
to get possession of the qualities of the beautiful envied brother
and son and to destroy him. This mixture of admiration, greed,
and destructive envy is a familiar theme from the analysis of
the cannibalistic fantasies of patients. But of course in the
ceremony it is kava that is pounded or chewed, not a person;
this symbolic transformation is taken up in the kava myth.

The idea that the pounding of the kava may represent
cannibalistic destruction of an envied object, a brother or son,
is consistent with the fact that the people in the outer group,
who used to chew and now help to pound the kava, stand in the
relation of 'child' or 'younger brother' to the titleholders of the
main circle.[10] In other words, the kava plant is presented to the
presiding chief as 'Aho'eitu was presented to his father. The
father then sends the kava/son to be destroyed. The destruc-
tion is carried out by 'children', though perhaps also by
'younger brothers' (of the 'father') – an indication that people
in the 'father' category are involved in the destruction. The
father's envy and destructiveness are hinted at in the myth,
for the father at first thinks his son is of higher rank, and then
sends him to his other sons without introduction. He immediately
suspects his other sons of murder and cannibalism, as if the
thought were not far from his own mind. So far as I could
discover none of this is conscious. That is, participants in the [571]
ceremony are aware to some extent of their envy and jealousy

276 of one another, and most of them know the two myths, but
574 they do not consciously link the two sets of knowledge.

154 In the 'Aho'eitu myth incorporation and destruction are
571 followed by healing water and the awakening of good feeling. Once this has taken place the kava is served, that is, the experience can be re-incorporated in a form that is soothing and tranquillizing. But the transformation is not always successful, for strong green kava sometimes makes people want to vomit. In other words, the method of preparing the kava can be seen as an effort to convert envy and jealousy into remorse and affection, to change poisonous feelings into feelings of tranquillity and harmony. But other myths and legends make it clear that envy and jealousy can never be overcome entirely and permanently, just as they can never be eradicated from everyday life. The feelings appropriate to cannibalism are here to stay. Envy, greed, and jealousy are always with us, but so are admiration and remorse. Conflict is inevitable. The kava ceremony states the particular Tongan variant of this general human dilemma and tries to communicate the idea that the forces of love can be made stronger than the forces of hate, at least temporarily. Once again, people do not think all this out consciously. They feel there is something good about the ceremony, something healing, but no one phrases it in terms of reparation to a damaged object and the re-incorporation of the whole experience.

As with the kava myth, there are many other possible inter-
276 574 pretations of the 'Aho'eitu myth. One version of the myth,
539 for example, goes into considerable detail about the way the
773 brothers threw 'Aho'eitu's head into a bush, which caused the
154 bush to become poisonous. Perhaps this is a way of talking about castration, with the customary theme of power residing in the cut-off head/phallus. There is a great deal of ambiguity in the myth about who is killing whom. Obviously the half-brothers kill 'Aho'eitu, but he is the father's favourite so they are attacking the father as well. The father himself sends 'Aho'eitu to his death, as I have indicated above. And what of

the mother far away in Tonga? 'Aho'eitu is her only son, so 276
she is being attacked and perhaps destroyed. But it is she who 574
tells 'Aho'eitu how to get to heaven in the first place. And what 539
of the link with the kava myth itself in which a daughter is 773
destroyed? Is it a daughter only or also a mother in disguise? 154

I do not think one can select any particular interpretation 121
as the 'right' one. None of them can be 'proved' or 'disproved',
at least not by the methods appropriate to the consulting-room,
nor by any other method that I could think of at the time.
In the consulting room, where the two partners to the relationship
are supposed to be discovering psychic truth, however
painful and improbable, one can make interpretations about
unconscious cannibalism or unconscious desires to castrate a
brother, and judge from the patient's reactions whether the
interpretations are close to home or wide of the mark. One
always has the transference situation, of which one has direct
experience, as a yardstick against which the manifest content
of the patient's material can be compared. In Tonga I was [123]
often aware of transference, especially of the more obvious
aspects of it: the attitude that I was a foreigner with whom a
cultural 'front' had to be kept up; attempts to 'use' me in one
way or another to gain some social end; the feeling that I was
a sympathetic outsider with whom emotional burdens could
be shared. But I never felt it appropriate to interpret the
transference. I found I was prepared to raise such issues as the
likelihood of hostility between rulers and subject, particularly
with a very secure and much-loved monarch, but I was not
prepared to try out interpretations of cannibalism or castration
with anyone, so unprepared, in fact, that I could hardly think
of such interpretations intellectually until I had left the field.
The social situation I was in did not sanction such endeavours.

From among the many possible interpretations, I have 276
emphasized the theme of cannibalism and reparation, of the 574
destruction and restoration of a brother/son, because it seemed 154
to me the most obvious, the most consistent with the events
and the status differentials of the ceremony, and the most in

81: Bott E,P-4,5 (no date) 1972 OU9 Tonga OU9

276 accord with constellations of envy and rivalry in other aspects
574 of Tongan social life. It helped to order the facts in a new and
154 comparatively simple pattern that I had not seen before. But it seems very likely that at various times and to various Tongans any or all of the variants described above might be unconsciously meaningful. The ambiguity of myths and ceremonies is part of their point. It gives individuals some leeway to play with experience, to make culture their own possession.

276 The particular beauty of the kava ceremony, at least for
574 me, is that it deals with problems on so many different levels
182 at the same time. It clarifies social principles and roles. It puts
571 a temporary brake on certain types of rapid change. It states and partly resolves problems of dependence and envy, and of interdependence and rivalry, some aspects of which are generated by the peculiarly Tongan system of social stratification, and some by the universal human attributes of having a capacity for thinking and feeling and being brought up in a society.

121 Small-scale societies tend to have multidimensional ceremonies of this type more frequently than we do. This suggests that time and continuity of shared experience are needed to build a ceremony that can transmit messages on many different levels at the same time. A long history of interpersonal contact and conflict makes possible the development of a symbolic statement in which universal human experiences are meaningfully linked with unique social circumstances.

000 In conclusion, I hope that I may have been able to interest you in taking a fresh look at ceremonies in our own society – at the coronation, for example, or at the elaborate ceremonial installation of the Lord Mayor of London as compared to the absence of ceremony in the installation of the head of the Greater London Council, at the Communion Service, at weddings, funerals, New Year's Eve parties, and so forth. Are roles dramatized and clarified? Is there a sense of continuity with the past? Is a symbolic form of expression provided for unspoken, or unformulated, or unconscious thoughts? Does the

121 2. Many anthropologists, especially in Britain, do not share Audrey Richards's and my view that understanding of unconscious mental processes is relevant to the analysis of social events. They are particularly apprehensive that psychoanalysts will attempt to explain social events in terms of individual needs. Their attitude is paralleled by the psychoanalyst's conviction that the complex events of the consulting room cannot be reduced to the level of neuro-anatomy. See especially Leach (1958); Lévi-Strauss (1964), especially Chapter 3; Gluckman (1964); Turner (1964); and Fox (1967).

● 276 3. For discussion of the chemical constituents and physiological action of kava see especially Keller and Klohs, 1963. Dr C. R. B. Joyce, Reader in Psycho-Pharmacology at the University of London has very kindly reviewed the literature for me and reports the following conclusions: 'All in all, my impression remains firm that this substance is not remarkable for its pharmacological activity; that such active properties as it contains have not been isolated so far (there is more activity on animals in the watery or chloroform extract, for example, than in any so far identified substance); and that the whole situation is a remarkable example of the placebo phenomenon in a wide and important social setting.' Personal communication, May 1967.

276 574 554 565 4. A similar institution is found among certain Bantu tribes. A. I. Richards (1950) calls it 'positional succession'; I. Cunnison (1956) calls it 'perpetual kinship'.

276 266 177 5. Tongans say that cannibalism was not indigenous to Tonga, but that early in the nineteenth century groups of young Tongan warriors visited Fiji, adopted the practice of eating slain enemies, and continued to practise this custom when they returned home to Tonga. The new custom was not adopted with enthusiasm and was soon abandoned.

565 554 6. The analysis of these three principles of social differentiation, political authority (titles), political power, and personal rank was first worked out by my husband, James Spillius, and was presented to the Tenth Pacific Science Congress at Honolulu in 1961 in a paper entitled 'Rank and Political Structure in Tonga'.

276 574 565 554 7. This complex of ceremonies is a striking example of what Max Gluckman has called the 'ritualization' of social relations in small-scale ('tribal') societies. He attributes this 'ritualization' to '. . . the fact that each social relation in a subsistence economy tends to serve manifold purposes . . . it is from this situation that I see emerging the relatively great development of special customs and

81: Bott E,P-4,5 (no date) 1972 OU9 Tonga OU9

stylised etiquette to mark the different roles that a man or woman is 276 574
playing at any one moment' (Gluckman, 1962, pp. 26–7). 554 565

8. In recent years anthropologists have devoted much attention
to conflict and ambivalence and their expression in religion and 276
ritual as well as in everyday affairs. See especially Fortes (1959); 574
Gluckman (1955), (1963) especially the Introduction and Chapter 3 571
entitled 'Rituals of Rebellion in South-East Africa' and (1965), especially Chapter 6 entitled 'Mystical Disturbance and Ritual Adjustment'; Leach (1965); Turner (1957) and (1964).

One problem of particular relevance is that some rituals incorporate conflict directly into the prescribed events of the ritual whereas others, like the kava ceremony, imply conflict but do not prescribe its enactment. But a comparative discussion of this topic would lead me too far from the immediate problem of the kava ceremony.

9. On the differentiation of 'good' and 'bad' as part of normal 276
psychic development, see especially W. R. Bion (1957), (1958), and 574
(1962). See also Hanna Segal (1964). On the differentiation of 539 773
symbol from object see Hanna Segal (1957).

10. The early accounts of kava ceremonies in which the kava was 276
chewed instead of pounded do not specify whether the chewing was 574
done only by the 'children' in the outer group or also by the 'younger 154
brothers'. All we know is that the people who did the chewing were in the outer group and that a considerable number of them took part in the chewing. Nowadays only the kava maker does the actual pounding.

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82: Leach OU9 Tonga OU9

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[For further information on the mythological origins of the kava ceremony, see Categories 539 or 773.]

bonds' (death associated with mutual separation). This con- 114
trast is presented to us by the evidence itself; it does not require 539
'interpretation' by the analyst (cf. Lévi-Strauss, 1963, p. 215). 773
In the course of the essay that follows I shall constantly revert
to this contrast, which is expressed in the actual ritual by a
marked ambivalence in the relationship between the presiding chief and the presiding matāpule (cf. Bott, pp. 225–6 above).

The distinctiveness of this procedure may be seen if we compare it with that employed by Bott who interprets the mythology by resort to intuition. Thus she claims that the myth (Bott II) mentioned above, represents a symbolic displacement of parental envy or castration symbolism (Bott, p. 230 above). Plainly she is here introducing an element of Freudian dogma which is quite external to the evidence as such.

All the same, we should not too hastily assume that Bott's
conclusions must be false. The skeletal structural analysis that 121
I have proposed above is precisely analogous to one which
Lévi-Strauss applied in 1953 to a series of incidents in the classical Theban saga (cf. Lévi-Strauss, 1963, p. 215). In that case the 'overemphasis of kinship bonds' was exemplified by the love of Oedipus for Jocasta and of Antigone for Polynices whereas the 'underemphasis of kinship bonds' was exemplified by the hostility between Oedipus and Laios and between Eteocles and Polynices. Since the Theban saga contains within itself all the basic complexes of the Freudian dogma it is hardly surprising that Bott should have got a whiff of ancient Thebes when contemplating the Tongan drama of ‘Aho‘eitu! But this, of course, raises the more general question of what is the relation between structuralist 'objective' analysis and psychoanalytic 'intuitive' analysis? The following material is designed to pursue this problem rather further.

I must first draw attention to a difficulty that Bott herself 114
ignores. Her paper is, in the main, an analysis of 'royal' kava 276
ceremonials as performed during the reign of the late Queen 574
Salote. Bott observed such ceremonials and discussed them with

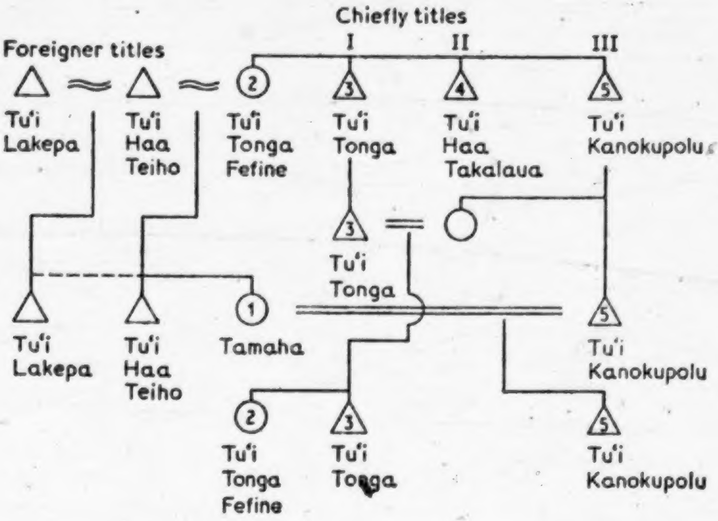
114 the Queen in person. One of the myths that she describes is in a
276 version that comes direct from the Queen. In one sense,
574 therefore, we are discussing ethnographic facts as they existed
[643] around 1960. But Queen Salote was a highly educated woman,
very well versed in the English language accounts of her own
society. This makes me sceptical. Bott says of the kava ceremonial:

> But all this is done according to a fixed ceremonial procedure that has hardly varied for at least 160 years. We have a good description of the ceremony dating from 1806 (Mariner, 1818, Vol. 2, pp. 172–96) and the verbal orders and the actions performed have hardly changed at all. . . . (p. 206).

But this continuity is surely hypothetical? The various ethnographic sources, notably Gifford (1929, pp. 156–68) and Williamson (1939, pp. 70–87), provide a step-by-step instruction book on how to run a 'traditional' kava ceremonial, and it is at least possible that the whole business in its present form is quite recent and self-consciously archaic. Moreover, we need to remember that whereas the genuine 'traditional' kava ceremonial was part of an elaborate 'traditional' religious complex, the population of Tonga has been thoroughly Christian for nearly 150 years. Even if the form of the present-day kava ceremonial resembles that described by Mariner, it is hardly possible that it can, in any but a rather superficial sense, possess the same 'meaning'. In such circumstances, is *any* interpretation of the symbolism justifiable?

114 So also in the case of the mythology. Bott's informants had presumably read Gifford (1924) just as she had done herself; does this affect the legitimacy of such materials for the purposes of ethnographic analysis? I don't know. So far as the main body of this paper is concerned I will accept Bott's unstated presupposition that *all* the evidence (whether it comes from Mariner, or Gifford, or Bott, or any other source) belongs to a single 'ethnographic present', but this assumption is suspect. I shall return to this issue at the end.

643 644 114 **Figure 1** Perpetual succession and affinity of Tongan titles (numerals indicate rank order of titles)


Chiefly titles
I
II
III
Foreigner titles
Tu'i Lakepa
Tu'i Haa Teiho
2
Tu'i Tonga Fefine
3
Tu'i Tonga
4
Tu'i Haa Takalaua
5
Tu'i Kanokupolu
3
Tu'i Tonga
1
Tamaha
Tu'i Lakepa
Tu'i Haa Teiho
5
Tu'i Kanokupolu
2
Tu'i Tonga Fefine
3
Tu'i Tonga
5
Tu'i Kanokupolu

● 276 574 The essential features of a Tongan kava ceremonial appear to be the following:

The participants seat themselves in a circle in the manner shown by Bott in *Figure 1*, p. 208. The order of seating is precisely determined by the rank of the title held by the individual [554] [428] [611] concerned. (Tongan titles are transmitted patrilineally in accordance with a system of positional succession. For example, certain titles are in younger brother relation to other titles 'but it is the titles that are brothers, not the men' (Bott, p. 211). Kava plants and food (traditionally sugar cane) are presented to the presiding chief and placed in the centre of the circle. The presiding matāpule[2] then gives orders that a kava plant be taken from in front of the presiding chief down to the kava bowl end of the circle where it is

> split up, cleaned, and then pounded by the kava maker. (Traditionally small bits of the kava root were handed to people in the outer group who chewed it, spat it out neatly on to a leaf, and then handed it back to the kava maker who put it in the bowl.)

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> The kava maker puts the pounded kava root in the bowl and 276 begins to knead it with his hands, and water is poured in by the 574 kava maker's assistants – all of these actions being carried out according to fixed ceremonial orders chanted by the presiding matāpule. The pouring in of the water is one of the most sacred moments of the ceremony and all conversation stops. Then the matāpule calls out to mix the kava and to strain it. While the kava maker is straining the kava conversation is resumed, speeches may be made, and if there is food, some of it is ceremonially divided and distributed to each title holder in the main circle. In a large scale ceremonial the title holders do not eat their food, however. They call for their respective 'grandchildren of high rank' to come from the outer group and take the portions of food away. Then all the remaining food is ceremonially given to the matāpule on the left of the presiding chief, who orders men from the outer group to take it away. After the ceremony is over this food is divided among the participants.
>
> Eventually, after the flurry of activity in distributing and removing the food, the kava maker's assistant calls out that the kava is clear and the matāpule gives the order for servers to come from the outer group with cups. A cup of kava is taken to each person in the main circle and to several in the outer group. When the serving is completed the ceremony is ended. Or it may be continued, but in this case the second serving is directed by the matāpule on the chief's left. An informal kava ceremony may go on all night, alternating from right to left (Bott, pp. 212–13).

Bott's problem (and mine) is to determine what this ritual sequence is all about.

Certain facts of Tongan ethnography are clearly relevant. All 565 accounts of Tongan society lay stress on the Tongans' almost 554 obsessive interest in the twin, though distinguishable, concepts of 'rank' and 'title'. *Rank* in Tongan terms is a personal attribute that depends upon the individual's ancestry through both male and female lines; *titles* are offices that an individual may inherit by patrilineal succession (or usurpation). Titles are themselves ranked in a hierarchy that is, in theory, unalterable and depends upon the circumstances in which the title first came into being in mythological times. It is very relevant for

1929, pp. 80–1: also Bott, personal communication). Notionally 644
it should have been possible to generate an individual of even 643
more exalted personal status than the Tamaha by having this 554
lady cohabit with the Tu'i Tonga. Tongan myth actually provides for such a possibility (Gifford, 1929, p. 81) but significantly no such alliance seems to have occurred in history (see *Figure 1*).

It will be seen that although the political leader, the Tu'i 643
Kanokupolu, held a lower ranking title than the ritual leader, 554
the Tu'i Tonga, the pattern of marriage was such that the personal rank status of the Tu'i Kanokupolu, derived through maternal links, might be as high or higher than that of the reigning Tu'i Tonga.

The net result of these complex games of status is thus sum- 565
marized by Bott (p. 218): 554

> Unlike titles, which are normally inherited in the male line, 611
> personal rank is inherited from both parents. To be a great [428]
> aristocrat means that one is descended, preferably through a line of eldest sisters, from the eldest sister of the former sacred King, the Tu'i Tonga, a title that is now defunct. Even the principles of rank in themselves may sometimes conflict. If a man marries a woman who is a great aristocrat and his sister marries a lowly commoner, the children of the respective marriages will be in a contradictory situation. According to one principle the children of the sister will rank higher than the children of the brother, but according to the other principle (that descent from the Tu'i Tonga's sister confers higher rank) the children of the brother will have higher rank.

This statement suffices to provide us with an initial hypothesis. 276
The kava ceremonial contains only two classes of operations. 574
First, the participants must seat themselves in the right order. 554
Second, the kava and food must be ritually prepared and 565
handed round. The position in the circle of present-day titleholders is determined by patrilineal succession in accordance with the relative ranking position of the hereditary titles, but the personal rank of the holders of these titles may be widely discrepant from the relative ranking of the titles themselves,

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276 because the personal rank contains the added element of
574 matrilineal succession from a Tu'i Tonga Fefine.

554
565 My hypothesis is that the kava ceremonial provides a charter for this discrepancy. I postulate that although the seating arrangements are strictly by title the actual presentation of the kava represents the legendary maternal ancestry of the individual recipients.

128 With this possibility in mind let us turn to consider the mythology.

539 Bott tells us that she recorded two versions of 'The Myth of the
773 Origin of Kava' and draws the reader's attention to four other versions printed by Gifford (1924, pp. 71–5). The version that Bott herself provides is as follows:

> ***Bott I***
>
> One day the King of Tonga went fishing with a friend. They did not catch anything, and as they were tired and hungry they called in at the little island of 'Eueiki to get something to eat. At that time there was only one couple living on the island and they had one child, a daughter, whose name was Kava'onau. (In some versions the name is abbreviated to 'Kava'.) She had leprosy. It was a time of famine and the only food the couple had left was a large kape plant (*Alocasia macrorrhiza*) which stood near the beach. When the King landed he sat down to rest against this plant. When the couple realized who their guest was they set about making an earth oven but when they came to get their sole remaining food plant, they could not use it because the King was leaning on it. The King's friend saw the couple hit something in their house and bring it out to be baked in the earth oven. He saw that they had killed their daughter because they had nothing else to give their King. The King's friend told the King what the couple had done. The King was deeply moved by their sacrifice. He rose up immediately and returned to the main island, telling the couple to bury their child properly.
>
> Two plants grew from the grave, one from the head and one from the foot. One day the couple saw a mouse bite the first plant, stagger a bit, and then bite the second plant, after which he recovered his balance.
>
> One day Lo'au came to the island and the couple told him all that had happened . . . When Lo'au heard the couple's story he

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> 539 773 bear a child to the Tu'i Tonga, so she told Ngongokilitoto that he had better cease his visits. She wanted to have a child that was without doubt the Tu'i Tonga's. After Ngongokilitoto ceased his visits to Nua she became pregnant to the Tu'i Tonga. She bore a son who was named Tu'itātui.

The story then continues at length about the relations between Tu'itātui and his half-brother Fasiapule. The beginning of this part of the story runs as follows:

> When the Tu'i Tonga died, Tu'itātui became king. Tu'itātui did not know that he had a brother. One morning they had a ceremony in which the Ha'angongo people presented yams and other products to the Tu'i Tonga. Fasiapule came with the people. He brought a basket in which he carried a piece of charcoal, one ripe *mamae* (a sort of banana), one *toto* (a fruit), and the pithy inside of a banana tree through which a fibre ran.
>
> During the kava drinking Fasiapule came inside the kava ring with his basket. Then he made a speech. First he picked up the banana pith and broke it in half, but it was still united by the fibre within. He told Tu'itātui that it was like themselves, that they could not break away from each other because they were born of the same woman. Then he picked up the *mamae* to show that the two half brothers will pity each other. If Fasiapule were to commit a wrong, Tu'itātui would have pity for him in his mind.
>
> Then Fasiapule picked up the *toto* and told the Tu'i Tonga that they too were of one blood and united like the *toto*. Then he picked up the charcoal and told the Tu'i Tonga that his mind was dark like the charcoal, for he did not know until now that he had a brother in Fasiapule.

773 In the latter part of this story Fasiapule runs away to Fiji and returns just as Tu'itātui is about to be buried on the island of Eua. Fasiapule kills his Fijian companion and substitutes his corpse for that of Tu'itātui. He then takes Tu'itātui's corpse away to the island called Moungatapu (Sacred Mountain) and thence to a place unknown, by some identified as Heketa, the locale of his seduction of his sister Latūtama (*supra*, p. 250).

276 574 Three unobtrusive details in this story deserve the reader's attention. First, certain foods presented at a kava ceremonial

are said to symbolize the solidarity that exists between an 276
aristocrat and his chief by virtue of links of common maternal 574
ancestry. Second, there is the charcoal symbolism of latent hostility between chiefs and aristocrats. Third, there is the marginality of Eua and Heketa.

In Gifford IV (p. 250) Eua is a substitution for 'Eueiki hence 773
there is a recurrent association between 'Eukeiki and Heketa. 823
Both are unpleasant 'sacred' places associated with sin and 778
death. Both have real existence in modern geography but mythologically both seem to stand for 'the other world' of spirits rather than this world of living men.

In her paper Bott records a myth that is much more ex- 539
plicitly concerned with the polarization of this world and the 773
other world (see p. 228). Bott considers that this myth relates 276
to the origins of certain details of the kava ceremony itself. 574
Her text is as follows:

Bott II

The story of the myth is simple and melodramatic. A god from the sky has intercourse with a woman of the earth and a son is born, called 'Aho'eitu. When he grows up he wants to see his father and, following instructions from his mother, he climbs up to the sky by a giant iron-wood tree. 'Aho'eitu is enthusiastically welcomed by his father, who thinks at first that 'Aho'eitu is a god of even higher rank than himself. The father then sends his new-found son, without introduction, to see his other sons in the sky, presumably the sons of sky mothers. When 'Aho'eitu's half-brothers see everyone admiring 'Aho'eitu because of his beauty, and when they hear rumours that he is their father's son, they tear 'Aho'eitu to pieces and eat him up. The father suspects what they have done. He calls for a wooden bowl and makes his sons vomit into it. This is very reminiscent of the former custom of chewing the kava, of the statements that kava sometimes makes people feel like vomiting, and of the linguistic association with nausea.[6] The sons vomit up 'Aho'eitu's flesh and blood, they confess, and the father sends people to collect the bones and the head which are also put in the bowl. Water is poured into the bowl, as in the kava ceremony. The pouring in of the water, as I have noted above, is one of the most sacred moments of the ceremony. After some time 'Aho'eitu begins to take shape and

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● 276
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finally sits up in the bowl. Then the father calls all his sons together and tells them that 'Aho'eitu will go back to the earth to become the first king of Tonga, the first Tu'i Tonga. At this point, the myth says, affection awakens in the hearts of the brothers, and they plead with their father to be allowed to go with 'Aho'eitu. The father agrees. Four of the brothers go down to earth to serve 'Aho'eitu as his matāpule. The fifth and eldest brother cannot be king, the father says, because he is guilty of murder, but he will be the King of the Second House (Tu'i Fale Ua). If 'Aho'eitu's line should die out then the King of the Second House will become King. (This is the rationale for the belief, mentioned above, that the last Tu'i Tonga bequeathed his kava prerogatives to the King of the Second House.) There are several other myths and legends that purport to show that all through Tongan history the descendants of the King of the Second House tried to murder 'Aho'eitu's descendants in order to wipe out his line.'

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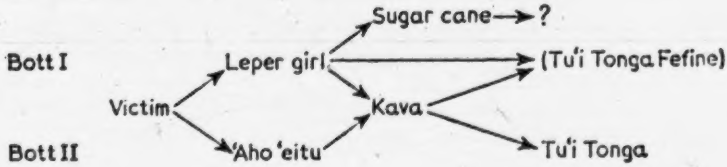
According to Bott (personal communication) this version of the story is compounded from the accounts of several distinguished informants including the Queen Salote herself. Gifford (1924, pp. 26–9, 38–43) gives us two alternative versions. Both are considerably longer than Bott II but contain much the same elements. Bott (p. 230) mentions that in one version of this myth 'the brothers threw 'Aho'eitu's head into a bush, which caused the bush to become poisonous', and she sees this as 'perhaps a way of talking about castration'. Both of Gifford's versions contain this detail and in one of them the point is made that – 'they threw the head among the plants called *hoi*. This caused one kind of *hoi* to become bitter. There is another kind that is sweet. The bitter kind became so because 'Aho'eitu's head was thrown into it. That kind of *hoi* is not eaten because it is poisonous.'

I have already commented (p. 240) on certain similarities and contrasts between elements in Bott II and 'corresponding' elements in Gifford V (p. 251). In Bott II the relationship between the Tu'i Tonga ('Aho'eitu) and his murderers is that of half-brother through a common father; in Gifford V, the relationship between the Tu'i Tonga (Tu'itātui) and Fasiapule

539 sacramentally as kava, nor does the myth anywhere explicitly
773 assert that Nua is the Tu'i Tonga Fefine, but it comes as close as possible to making both these identifications. In any case both myths seem to imply equations between the murdered victim and human title holders through the medium of the kava, as in *Figure 2*.

Figure 2 Mythical transformations in Bott I and Bott II



Further 'equivalences' seem to be implied by the various references to the *kape* plant and to yams. The *kape* root could be used as a food of last resort and the implication of the reference to *kape* in Bott I is that the victim is substituted for the *kape* as an offering of food to 'the King'.

We meet with *kape* again in Gifford V where the girl Nua, who has previously been described as 'an old yam' and has been offered as sexual consort to the Tu'i Tonga, is told by her lover that 'the dripping of water on the *kape* leaf' is to be treated as a sexual invitation.

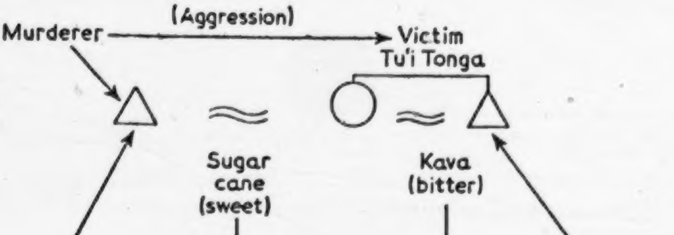
643 In the pre-Christian Tongan society 'by far the most im-
796 portant ceremony at which the Tu'i Tonga functioned was the
651 great annual *inasi* or offering of first fruits to the gods' (Gifford, 1929, p. 76). The central feature of this ritual was the offering
276 of yams to the Tu'i Tonga. Finally, perhaps we should notice
574 Bott's observation (*supra*, p. 213) that 'the pouring in of the water (onto the masticated kava root) is one of the most sacred moments of the ceremony'.

539 We need to notice two particular features of this concatenation
773 of symbolic associations. First, there is a quite definite, though somewhat obscure, association between incestuous sex relations

with a tabooed woman and the drinking of kava as a sacrament. 539
Second, this whole complex of myth fits in admirably with a 773
well-known generalization by Lévi-Strauss who has argued (Lévi-Strauss, 1963, p. 216) that there is always a logical contradiction in any story of first ancestors, particularly in patrilineal systems. For how can 'a first man' beget children except by cohabiting either with his mother or his sister? But if he had a mother, how could he be the first man? The logical contradictions of the coalescence and distinction between Lo'au (Tu'i Ha'amea) and Lo'au (Tu'i Tonga) seem to betray precisely such a problem. A somewhat similar ambiguity is implicit in the circumstance that although both the main myths make a close identification between the murdered victim and the Tu'i Tonga, Bott I makes the victim female and Bott II male; in the female case the associations of the chewing and preparation of the kava are sexual, in the male case the context is straight aggression.

Taken together a set of equivalences and symbolic associations of the following sort seems to be implied (*Figure 3*).

Figure 3 Kava/sugar polarity and symbolic equivalents



Let us return to my hypothesis (p. 248) that in the actual [276]
ceremonial the offering of kava is an expression of ancestral [574]
ties with high-ranking women.

554 In real life, Tongan titles can be distinguished as falling into
565 one or other of two categories: (i) chiefly titles, which are all in the last analysis 'younger brothers' of the Tu'i Tonga title (*supra*, p. 246) and (ii) matāpule titles, which are all considered to have been derived from 'foreigners' (Fijians, Samoans, etc.)
[773] who married with Tongan women. In the mythology the relationship
between titles of class (i) and titles of class (ii) is treated as a relationship between half-brothers marked by ambivalent attitudes of love and hate.

276 Explicit examples of this ambivalence are provided in Gifford
574 V (*supra*, pp. 251–2) especially in the story of Fasiapule,
554 the *toto*-fruit, and the charcoal. Another story about Tu'itātui
565 has just the same implication. Gifford (1929, p. 53) records a
643 tradition about this Tu'i Tonga to the effect that he used a
773 long stick to hit the knees of his matāpule when they came too close. 'His reason for this practice is said to have been fear of assassination because several Tu'i Tonga had been killed at kava ceremonies by their matāpule.'

276 It is thus rather striking that whereas the formal appearance
574 of the real life kava ceremonial exhibits extremely cordial rela-
773 tionships between the holders of chiefly and matāpule titles, the mythological counterpart is a set of stories about incestuous relationships and murder.

Taking the mythology and the ritual in combination we encounter two types of transformation. On the one hand there are permutations that occur within the body of the mythology itself; on the other there are representations in the real life ritual of
276 incidents occurring in the mythology. The principal trans-
574 formations may be set out as follows:
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643 A. *Main transformation and identifications in the 'Aho'eitu Story*
565 (Bott II)

I. Transformations occurring within the text of the myth itself

(i) 'Aho'eitu (who has a divine father and a human mother)

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is converted into a kava offering *in the other world* but 276
becomes Tu'i Tonga *in this world.* 574
773
(ii) 'Aho'eitu's divine (paternal) half-brothers are kava 539
makers *in the other world* but becomes matāpule *in this* 643
world, except for the Tu'i Fale Ua, a chiefly title, ranking 565
as Deputy for the Tu'a Tonga.

II. Transformations as between the text of the myth and the performance of the real life kava ceremony

(i) *In the myth.* The murderer half-brothers of the victim are identical to the kava makers.
In the ritual. The matāpule and the kava maker are separate individuals, physically separated, but the kava maker acts under the instructions of the matāpule.

(ii) *In the myth.* The murdered victim who later becomes Tu'i Tonga is identical to the kava.
In the ritual. The presiding chief, a descendant of a Tu'i Tonga, is physically separated from the kava. However, the first action in the ceremony is to present the *kava* plants and food to the presiding chief and then remove them from him (*supra*, p. 244).

If we accept the mythical identification of matāpule with kava maker and of Tu'i Tonga with kava, then it follows that, in the real life ceremonial, the four main elements are related as:

kava maker : kava : : matāpule : Tu'i Tonga (presiding chief).

B. *Main transformations and identifications in the stories about the island of 'Eueiki* (Bott I; Gifford I–IV; Gifford V) 276 574

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Preliminary comments 539

Of the numerous contrasts between Bott I and Bott II (tabulated on pp. 257–8) the following seem especially significant:

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			BOTT I	BOTT II
574 773	4.	the victim is	female ugly	male beautiful
539	14/15.	the victim is reconstituted as	*two* plants: sweet sugar cane from the foot or intestines; bitter kava from the head	the human Tu'i Tonga

In *Figure 3* it has been proposed that the two plants should be interpreted as the lawful (sweet) and unlawful (bitter) aspects of the Tu'i Tonga Fefine's sexual personality. An alternative possibility, suggested by the above tabulation, is that the sweet and bitter plants correspond to male and female aspects of the Tu'i Tonga title. The ambiguity cannot be resolved without 'intuition'. It seems likely in any case that both the mythology and the ritual has here been modified by 'modern' influences.

The sugar cane and the kava are opposed not only as sweet and sour but also as stalk and root, and I would guess that the sugar cane once grew, neither from the foot nor the 'intestines' of the victim but from her vagina. In the ritual, the sugar cane serves as a prototype food offering (*supra*, p. 244). All modern accounts of the kava ceremonial imply that the drinking of the prepared kava is now of far greater ritual significance than the distribution or consumption of the food, but there is evidence that at one time the food entitlement of individual participants was very important (Gifford, 1929, p. 162). This change of emphasis may be due to the fact that in the pre-Christian era the offering of food had pagan religious significance (*supra*, p. 260); it could also reflect the fact that the three prime titles of Tu'i Tonga, Tu'i Tonga Fefine, and Yu'i Kanokupolu were all combined in the single person of Queen Salote (*supra*, p. 243).

That the symbolic allocation of the kava and the sugar cane is as in *Figure 3* and not the other way round is supported by Gifford (1929, p. 159) where it is reported that when the Tu'i

Tonga was ill the kava would be described as 'diluted', and 276
that a special kava, accompanied by prayers for a son, was 574
performed when the Tu'i Tonga's consort was confined. 539
Furthermore Gifford (1929, p. 162) seems to imply that claims 773
for personal precedence in the *'alofi* circle on the part of individual matāpule and minor chiefs on account of genealogical connection (through women) with the presiding chief were based on particular entitlements to food rather than particular entitlements to drink.

Another binary opposition that occurs in the ritual is that between the right and left sides of the *'alofi* circle (*supra*, p. 209). This distinction is linked with the allocation of titles to two 'moieties' (Kauhalalalo, Kauhalauta), but this does not seem to be linked with the sweet/bitter opposition or with any other feature of the mythology and I shall not attempt an analysis.

It has already been noted that the myths in the Bott I group 539
appear to be heavily loaded with the theme of incest, but it 773
needs to be emphasized that if the stories are taken to refer to titles rather than to individuals the incestuous elements follow almost automatically from the principles of positional succession. Just as in the classical ancient Egyptian case where Horus and Osiris stood in positional succession, Isis's relation to Horus is that of mother, wife, or sister according to viewpoint, so also with these Tongan stories: Nua is mother-sister-wife-daughter of the Tu'i Tonga.

I. Transformations occurring within the mythology itself.

- (i) The leprous girl from 'Eueiki, who is the daughter of a matāpule (or of a total stranger) is converted into the two plants of the kava ritual, kava and sugar cane.
- (ii) The beautiful girl from 'Eueiki becomes the mother of the Tu'i Tonga.[8]
- (iii) As a result of incest the Tu'i Tonga Fefine become the mother and 'wife' of the Tu'i Tonga.[9]
- (iv) But Nua, the mother and 'wife' of the Tu'i Tonga is also mother of Fasiapule, a matāpule.

539 773 The *explicit* mythical statement that the relationship between the Tu'i Tonga and matāpule titles is that of 'half-brother through a common mother' thus has the added *implicit* component that, through incest, the common mother is the Tu'i Tonga Fefine.

539 773 II. Transformations as between the text of the myth and the performance of the real life kava ceremony.

276 574 (i) *In the myth.* 'Eueiki produces two girls one leprous, one beautiful. The leprous girl is converted into two plants one 'poisonous' (kava) one sweet (sugar cane).
In the ritual. A distinction is made between the drink (kava) and the food (sugar cane). Distinctions are also made between the passive role of the presiding chief and the active role of the matāpule.

THE KAVA AS SACRIFICE

121 276 574 In my schematic analysis of the two myths I have referred to the killing as a 'murder'. Is it legitimate to see this killing as sacramental and to call it a 'sacrifice'? Is the relation between kava myth and kava ritual a charter for a symbolic killing, in the same way as the myth of the Last Supper provides the Christian with a charter for a symbolic meal that commemorates a 'full, perfect and sufficient sacrifice?'

General theories about the 'meaning of sacrifice' fall into three types. First there are versions of Robertson-Smith's 'communion theory', which was designed to fit the 'sacrifice' of the Christian mass into a wider universal class. Here the sacrificial victim is, at the moment of slaughter, identified with the deity. The eating of the meat of the sacrifice is deemed an essential element in the rite; the congregation shares a collective guilt in participating in god murder and ritual cannibalism; this collective guilt is an 'atonement', it makes the members of the congregation aware of themselves as a collectivity that has jointly sinned yet jointly assimilated itself to

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god. The views of Durkheim and of Freud both have much in 121
common with this basic thesis of Robertson-Smith. 276

Second, 'gift theories of sacrifice' presume that in making a 574
sacrifice the donor is offering a gift to his deity in order to compel the god to make a counter gift in return. Though sociologically unsophisticated, this type of generalization often corresponds closely to the ethnographic facts. Often enough this is what native informants say that they are doing. However, this 'theory' evades the basic problem: even if we were to concede that it is, in some way, 'sensible' for a human being to want to make a gift to his deity, how could it possibly be sensible that the form of this gift should be the killing of an animal?

The third class of theory derives from Hubert and Mauss. This emphasizes the sacramental aspect of the sacrificial performances. A sacrifice serves to 'make the donor sacred', i.e. it improves his mystical condition; if he is ill he is made well, if he is in a state of sin he is freed from his sin. This theory is, in some respects, the opposite of that postulated by Robertson-Smith. Where Robertson-Smith laid stress on the symbolic identification of the victim and the deity, the Hubert and Mauss theory emphasizes the identification of the victim with the donor. By killing the victim the sacrificer alters its mystical condition; but if donor and victim are identical this also alters the mystical condition of the donor. The ideology is mixed up with the apparently self-contradictory notion that although cleanliness is a superior state to dirtiness, potency (power) is often felt to be dirty. A sick person is one who is 'contaminated' by mystical power; if he is to be made well he must be cleansed of that contamination by separating the dirty from the sterile. In a sacrifice, the killing of the victim separates the life potency from the cadaver. In a curiously inverted sense it is a 'purification' of both the dead animal and the living human being.

These theories are not necessarily mutually exclusive. If sacrifice constitutes a 'gift' from man to god, it also constitutes an atonement by which man and god are momentarily bound together and, in this moment of coalescence, it makes little

121 276 574 difference to the ideology whether the bond itself – namely the sacrificial victim – is felt to be identified with the deity, or with the donor, or with both at once. In the language of structural analysis the victim 'mediates' the opposition between deity and donor.

276 574 If these theories are applied to the Tongan material that has so far been considered, several details seem particularly relevant.

(i) In real life 'kava can be presented ceremonially only by a matāpule; even a titled chief can present kava to the Queen only through a matāpule' (Gifford, 1929, p. 140).

Therefore, on the sacrifice analogy: the kava mediates the opposition between the matāpule as donor and the presiding chief as recipient. The matāpule titles in real life belong to the descendants of foreigners, and they are persons whose relationship to the Tu'i Tonga is comparable to that of the foreigner 'husbands' of the Tu'i Tonga Fefine (*supra*, p. 246) [10] and of the mythical 'Fijian' (maternal) half-brother Fasiapule (*supra*, p. 252).

773 539 (ii) In Bott I and its variants stress is placed on the fact that the parents of the leper girl pay reverential respect to their royal visitor. In Gifford I the rank status of Fevanga, the girl's father, is expressly specified as that of 'attendant (*takanga*) to the Tu'i Tonga'. That is to say, he is a matāpule (see Gifford, 1929, p. 140). The mythical kava-leper girl is therefore again an offering that mediates the opposition between a matāpule as donor and a Tu'i Tonga as recipient.

(iii) In contrast, in Bott II, the victim's elder half-brothers are both the donors and the recipients of the sacrifice. There is no opposition that can be 'mediated'; on the contrary the donor-recipients of the offering carry their identification with the victim so far that they devour him. But here again it turns out that the ritual of the kava has established a relationship between matāpule and Tu'i Tonga.

[276] [574] This treatment of the material, both ritual and mythical, implies the following triads of 'mediated oppositions':

276
574
773
539

Opposed categories		*Mediating third term*
X	*Y*	*Z*
donor	receiver	gift
matāpule	presiding chief	kava
foreigner	Tongan	wife to foreigner sister to Tongan
sister's husband	younger brother	elder sister
half-brother	half-brother	Bott I common mother Bott II common father
Rank derived from both parents	Title derived from father	Ancestral Tu‘i Tonga Fefine

In each of the three columns *X*, *Y*, and *Z* any one of the items is the symbolic equivalent of any other.

THE PROBLEM OF CHRISTIAN INFLUENCE

So finally we return once more to the initial problem of ritual interpretation. In the performance of the kava ceremonial as described above (pp. 207–15) what is really going on? When the matāpule order the distribution of the kava, what is it that is being distributed? Can we ignore the Christian context noted [121] (p. 242)? Is the Eucharistic flavour just accidental?

Bott II explicitly exhibits the Tu‘i Tonga being produced by a kava rite, yet structural analysis implies an identification of the kava with the female principle of rank derived from an ancestral Tu‘i Tonga Fefine.

Whether we follow the ‘overt’ implications of the mythology or resort to a structuralist interpretation we are only offered three alternatives as to what the kava ‘symbolizes’:

Kava is: *either*

> The body of the leprous daughter of the matāpule mystically transformed (as in Bott I)
>
> *or*
>
> The body of the Tu‘i Tonga himself mystically transformed (as in Bott II)
>
> *or*
>
> Some mystical (incestuous) combination of the male

> 276 and female potencies of the Tu'i Tonga and the Tu'i
> 574 Tonga Fefine (as in *Figure 3*, p. 261).

539 The last alternative is no more metaphysical then the normal
773 Christian assertion that, in the Mass, the bread and the wine
become the body and blood of Jesus Christ and, in some mystical sense, a manifestation of his purifying potency.

276 This homology with the Christian Mass seems to me too
574 striking to be ignored, but how should we explain it? Does it
539 arise from a subliminal influence of Christian ideas working
773 on the minds of recent Tongan mythographers (*supra*, p. 242), or
177
771 does it represent a direct parallel between traditional Christianity and traditional Polynesian thought at a structural level of apprehension? As to the first of these alternatives, we have evidence that, in at least one detail, the mythology has undergone a recent modification to keep it in line with a modification of the ritual. Bott I says that the leper girl on 'Eueiki was pounded to death; it thus fits the modern procedure of pounding the kava root. But Bott tells us that the substitution of pounding for chewing in the actual ritual is a recent innovation (*supra*, p. 244).

Evidence of this kind is bound to raise doubts about how far we can regard *any* of the mythology as traditionally authentic, but my own view, for what it is worth, is that the Christian era modifications of pre-Christian materials have not been substantial. It is rather that the more or less accidental fit between certain themes in Polynesian kinship ideology and certain aspects of the Christian dogma of the Virgin Birth have provided a favourable climate for the survival of a very un-Christian body of mythology.

In my own words, the kava ceremonial reduced to its most skeletal form may be described as follows:

> A semi-poisonous food substance (the kava plant) is first identified with the Presiding Chief, then it is removed from him and ritually processed according to the instructions of the Presiding *Matāpule* so as to convert it into a sacramental drink which is then imbibed by all the principal title holders present.

There is a *direct* parallel between this ritual performance and 276
the theme of cannibalism in Bott II. The parallel is also very 574
Christian. The sacramental kava is the 'body and blood of the 773
sacrificed man-god'. 539
177

But the mythology of Bott I suggests a different pattern, for 771
in the latter case the emphasis is on paired oppositions rather 276
than assimilation, and on incestuous and non-incestuous sex 574
relations between men and women rather than on love-hate 773
relationships between men. 539

In the real life ceremonial the *'alofi* circle is in two halves and the semi-circle of the presiding chief stands in polar opposition to the semi-circle of the kava bowl (Bott, *Figure 2*, p. 209).

Considering the sequence as a whole, both in its ritual and in its mythological aspects the following paired relationships are implied, with the qualification, already noted (p. 264), that the (apparent) relative secularity of food as against drink may be a recent modification:

Ritual oppositions		*Mythological oppositions*
Chief's semi-circle	*kava bowl semi-circle*	
matāpule : chief	kava maker : kava	
secular : sacred	food : drink	sugar cane : kava
		non-poisonous : poisonous
		beautiful : leprous
		son : daughter
		male : female

This patterning of ritual and mythological ideas exists in a secular context in which there is a real life 'contradiction' by which, although titles pass from fathers to sons, sisters rank higher than brothers (*supra*, p. 246).

It is an arrangement that provides the framework for a ritual enactment of a marked ambivalence in the relationship between the presiding chief and the presiding matāpule (*supra*, p. 262). The *manifest* behaviour in the ritual is one of friendly gift-giving, but the implications of the mythical background

276 are that there is an undercurrent of jealousy and hate (*supra*,
574 p. 258) and that the assembled matāpule are only willing to
539 recognize the potency of ritual chieftainship because they are
773 concerned to assimilate that potency to themselves.

276 For those who are prepared to give any credence at all to this
574 style of analysis the general significance of the ceremony has by
539 now become very obvious, indeed it has been indicated al-
773 ready at several points during the course of this essay.[11]

177 When the male titleholders sitting in the *'alofi* circle drink the
771 kava and receive the distributions of sugar cane these are sacramental foods in the same sense as are the bread and wine of the Christian Mass. At a mystical level they are the equivalent of the divine potency that distinguishes the Tu'i Tonga and the Tu'i Tonga Fefine from ordinary mortals.

Of the two substances, it is the kava rather than the sugar cane that now carries real sacramental value and the significance of this fact is to be found in the circumstance that not only are the Tu'i Tonga descended from an original incestuous relationship between a male and female Tu'i Tonga but that the matāpule are likewise so descended. 'A great aristocrat is one descended, preferably through a line of elder sisters, from the elder sister of the Tu'i Tonga' (Bott, p. 218).

By the ritual drinking of kava the titleholder concerned reaffirms his aristocratic status, he assimilates to himself once again the magical, matrilineally inherited, potency of his divine ancestors. By so doing he asserts his equality, or even his superiority, to the personal status of his presiding chief.

When one considers that in Christian theology, Jesus is divine by filiation from the Father but human and royal by an ambiguous filiation through the mother, it is not after all surprising that the kava mythology, in its modern form, despite the hints of cannibalism and incest, should make mystical sense to devout Christians.

82: Leach E-4 (no date) 1972 OU9 Tonga OU9

FINAL NOTE ON METHOD

Let me return to my initial thesis. The analysis that I have 121
presented employs a combination of 'structuralist' and 'functionalist'
techniques. In so far as I use functionalist assumptions
I have operated intensively within a very narrow range of
ethnographic data and I have adhered to the Malinowskian
dogma that myth and ritual are two aspects of the same thing.
But I have combined this orthodoxy with many features of
structuralist procedure and I believe that the outcome is to
be preferred to either a functionalist or a psychoanalytical interpretation
of the more usual sort because it depends much less
on intuition. Even so my argument might be criticized as
superficial. Even if Bott were to agree that the mystical identity 121
between the kava on the one hand and the potency of the Tu'i 114
Tonga Fefine on the other has now been established (as I think
perhaps she does), she might still argue that the concatenation,
in such a context, of themes of cannibalism and incest is too
suggestive to be ignored and that, at this 'deeper' level, the
Freudian approach adds insights that neither functionalism nor
structuralism can provide. On this issue I am not fully persuaded
one way or the other. Certainly the convergence
between Bott's Freudian approach and my own structural
analysis seems very striking. But it was Audrey Richards's
Chisungu that first convinced me that these matters are far more
multivalent than I had once supposed, so it is to Audrey that I
now offer this essay in uncertain analysis.

NOTES

1. In terms of our value system it might further appear that the 114
younger half-brother is in each case 'illegitimate', but Dr Bott assures 539
me that this would not be the case according to Tongan idiom. 773

2. 'The basic meaning of the term mātāpule seems to be sister's 276
husband (M.S.)' (Gifford, 1929, p. 29). Hence it is a term of 574
respect. As a *title*, it denotes the ceremonial attendant of a chief. 565
Titles are hereditary in the male line and in most cases the patrilienages
that own matāpule titles are of 'foreign' origin, e.g. they
are supposed to have come from Fiji or Samoa.

565 3. The Tu'i Tonga Fefine held office until death so that she might
554 be, on occasion, the reigning Tu'i Tonga's father's sister.
644

4. Eua is the smallest of the inhabited islands of the Tongan
539 group. 'Eueiki is ordinarily uninhabited and, as is well known to all
773 Tongans, it is very difficult to land there because of the nature of the reef (Bott, personal communication).

5. Bott comments that this notion of 'illegitimacy' is modern.
539 Formerly 'in the bush' meant 'of low rank', i.e. the offspring of a
773 temporary liaison between an important man and a woman of low
848 status. The child of a liaison between two aristocrats of comparable
554 status would not be described in this way (cf. p. 246).

276 6. Bott, p. 216. 'There are other linguistic links with the idea of kava as a poison. *Kavafisi* and *kavahaha* are creepers used as fish poisons. The word "*kavahia*" means to be nauseated.'

773 7. Cf. note 5. 'Aho'eitu has a human mother and a heavenly
539 father.

8. One explicit tradition asserts that the child of Nua, the girl from 'Eueiki, was named Uanga and that this Uanga succeeded as Tu'i Tonga (Gifford, 1924, p. 49).

9. Gifford (1924, p. 46), which records the incest of Tu'itātui with his sister Latūtama, implies that the child of this liaison was named Talamata and that Talamata succeeded as Tu'i Tonga. Gifford (1929, p. 53) assumes that Uanga and Talamata are two names for the same historical individual.

10. Although the 'original' Tu'i Lakepa is supposed to have been
276 a Fijian who was elder sister's husband to a Tu'i Tonga this title is
574 not now considered to carry *matāpule* rank (Bott, personal communication; cf. Gifford, 1929, p. 34).

276 11. Firth (1970, pp. 199–233) gives an account of kava ritual
574 and myth in Tikopia which can usefully be compared with the
539 analysis given above. In Tikopia, as in Tonga, there are two main
773 versions of the mythology but the roles are reversed. A healthy boy
171 replaces the leper girl; a female spirit who 'dies' in childbirth and then survives as the Female Deity of Tikopia replaces the male 'Aho'eitu who is murdered and then survives as the Tu'i Tonga. The Tikopia libate their kava; the Tongans drink theirs. It may be noted that the appearance of the Female Deity in the Tikopia pattern is consistent not only with the function attributed to the Tu'i Tonga Fefine in this present paper but also with other characteristics of the Female Deity to which I have drawn attention elsewhere (Leach, 1961, p. 21).

83: Bott E,P-4,5 (no date) 1972 OU9 Tonga OU9

A rejoinder to Edmund Leach

ELIZABETH BOTT

I find myself captivated by the intellectual elegance of Dr 114
Leach's analysis. I accept as plausible the series of symbolic 276
links establishing the mystical identity between kava on the 773
one hand and descent from women on the other, and, with a 539
little misgiving, descent from the Tu'i Tonga Fefine in particular. The symbolic linking of Kava (the leprous girl of 'Eueiki) with Nua (the beautiful spirit girl of 'Eueiki) seems indisputable, and the two Nua are the Tu'i Tonga's daughter, his mother, and his wife. (Nua 1 is the daughter of Lo'au who is equated/confused with the Tu'i Tonga. Nua 1 is also the wife of Tu'i Tonga Momo and the mother of Tu'i Tonga Tu'itātui. Nua 2, the spirit girl of 'Eueiki, marries Tu'i Tonga Tu'itātui.) Kava is equivalent to the Tu'i Tonga's sister only through an indirect link: Kava = Nua = Tu'i Tonga's wife = Latūtama, the sister of Tu'i Tonga Tu'itātui. Assuming that Nua 1 is the mother of Latūtama as well as the mother of Tu'i Tonga Tu'itātui, which the myth does not explicitly state, the link between kava and the sister of the Tu'i Tonga is more direct, for then Kava = Nua = mother of Latūtama.

All this fills in much more adequately what Leach rightly calls my 'wild guessing' about the links between the 'Aho'eitu
myth and the kava myth. And from it follows the conclusion [574]
that whereas the seating of the ceremony expresses the fixed
and theoretically unchanging relationships of *titles* to one another, the making and drinking of kava reaffirms the aristo-

114 cratic status of the title*holders* and their mystical assimilation
276 to their divine ancestress, the Tu'i Tonga Fefine.

773 Of the many equivalences that can be established, it seems
539 to me plausible that the kava itself embodies not only the
[574] divine ancestress, the Tu'i Tonga's sister, but also the Tu'i
Tonga. Kava and sugar cane grow out of the earth-buried body of the murdered leper girl. But 'Aho'eitu grows out of the body of an earth-woman, and is then chewed, spat out and mixed with water as if he himself were kava. Out of this grows the Tu'i Tonga, so that when the kava is ritually consumed, what is being assimilated is not only the leper girl/Nua/daughter/mother/wife/sister of the Tu'i Tonga, but also the Tu'i Tonga himself. Thus the kava making and drinking would express the mystical union of man and woman, the derivation of man from woman and woman from man, and the insoluble puzzle of the first ancestor.

114 There is a detail that neither Leach's analysis nor mine
276 fully explains. In the kava ceremony of the Tu'i Kanokupolu
574 and Ha'a Ngata, which was the type observed by Mariner,
539 Gifford, and my husband and me, the sugar cane (or pork) is
773 distributed to the kava drinkers, but they do not eat it. The
kava drinkers summon their 'grandchildren of high rank' (*mokapuna 'eiki*) to take it away. According to the kava myth both the sugar cane and the kava plant grew out of the body of the murdered leper girl, but the sugar cane grew out of a lower part of the body. I agree with Leach that the ritual and mythological oppositions establish sugar cane as secular/food/non-poisonous/beautiful/son/male/of lower rank – many of these being attributes concerning titles and the relationships of political authority and obligations that titles involve. Further, the Tongan word for the food presented to the kava drinkers is *fono*, which is a homonym for a political meeting at which a chief gives orders to his people. It looks as if there is a paradoxical difference between the female substance (kava) and the male substance (fono) that grow out of the leper girl/beautiful boy. The female substance is of higher rank than the

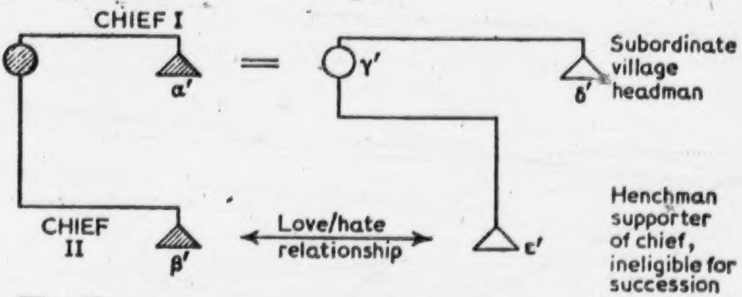
male substance but can be consumed. The male substance is of 114
lower rank but can only be consumed by those of higher rank 276
than the kava drinkers. The male substance is thus simul- 574
taneously 'lower' and 'higher', just as brothers are simulta- 539
neously lower and higher than their sisters – lower in rank but 773
greater in political power.

On one occasion I observed a kava ceremony of the 'King of the Second House' (Tu'i Fale Ua or Tu'i Pelehake), to which title the last Tu'i Tonga is said to have bequeathed his kava rites. In this ceremony the chief ate his *fono*. So did the Falefā, the titles of the four mythical half-brothers of 'Aho'eitu, and so did certain other 'foreign' matāpule who are said to have been specifically exempted from the *tapu* of eating in the presence of the Tu'i Tonga. Unfortunately I did not discover whether the King of the Second House ate his *fono* in his capacity as Tu'i Tonga or in his capacity as King of the Second House. Cook is the only authority I have found who gives a description of the Tu'i Tonga's kava ceremony, and he does not include this detail. The present-day eating of the *fono* in the kava ceremony of the 'King of the Second House' may therefore mean either a ritual repetition of the original eating up of 'Aho'eitu, or, more probably, a symbolic statement to the effect that only titles that are either (a) the embodiment of the Tu'i Tonga or (b) ritual outsiders can assimilate themselves directly to the male principle of the Tu'i Tonga/Tu'i Tonga Fefine.

What of Leach's claim that structuralist analysis is 'intui- 114
tion free'? In the sense that the analysis uses as data only 121
texts, ceremonies, and abstractions of organizational principles, it is relatively free from contamination either by the observer's or the informants' imputations of meaning and feeling to behaviour. Fieldwork becomes unnecessary, except that one must have a little contact with informants in order to collect texts, observe the ceremonies, and abstract the organizational principles. The analysis requires familiarity with and acceptance of the condensations, displacements, representation by

Figure II

602
604
171


CHIEF I
α′
γ′
δ′
Subordinate village headman
CHIEF II
β′
Love/hate relationship
ε′
Henchman supporter of chief, ineligible for succession

The Tongan structure corresponds to that of *Figure I* but with the special characteristic that, because γ has explicitly higher personal rank than α, ϵ may be of higher personal rank than β, even though β is politically superior.

[565] [607] The relationship between the titles of β and ϵ is that of chief to matāpule. The base meaning of the term matāpule is 'sister's husband' (see note 2, p. 274). Thus the terminology corresponds to ϵ/α in *Figure I*. But, in the mythology and in the kava ceremonial, the relationship between β and ϵ is that of 'half-brother through a common mother'. If we apply this equivocation to *Figure I*, then it is at once apparent that the common mother must be γ, which is precisely the outcome of the full-scale analysis, which is developed around text *Figure 3* (p. 261).[1]

[276] [574] [554] In assessing the relationship between this analysis and that advanced by Goody with regard to the Tongan institution of *fahu*, the reader should bear in mind that, in the case of kava ceremonial, the relationships are those of the titles and not those of actual individuals. The claims of ϵ against β are strictly mythological and it cannot possibly be argued that 'the exclusion of the sister's children from succession is in flagrant contradiction to their claims in property' (Goody, 1969, p. 81).

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[1] /See 82: Leach -- Analyst/

succession can be and usually is explained by a contextual factor such as the 565
lack of ability, the physical absence, the immaturity, or simply the dislike 175
among suporting chiefs of the appropriate, eldest-son heir. However, some 611
informants explained that chiefly authority should pass between brothers because 428
of *toto mafana* ('warm blood'): the younger brother shares identical chiefly
status as the deceased chief because they had the same mother, but the chief's [554]
eldest son has a different chiefly status, whether higher or lower, than his
father, because he had a different mother than the latter.[8] Thus, the chiefly
position should properly pass through the surviving brothers until they are
exhausted before it eventually returns to the senior male line. However valid 565
or accurate this current indigenous explanation of former succession beliefs 178
may be, the issue of priority between horizontal succession through brothers 611
and vertical succession through sons has survived as a continuing structural 428
tension, despite strict, legal definition of succession.

The Tu'i Tonga formally installed the major chiefly titles of the old order, 175
and the holders of the latter in turn installed titles subordinate to themselves. 565
Formal installation of subordinate titles occurred in the context of a kava 643
ceremony, headed by the appointing chief. An appointee would be served
kava under his new title after which he would present a large tribute of food, 175
called *pongipongi hingoa* ('presentation in honor of entitlement') to the 565
appointing chief. With the serving of kava and the presentation of food, the 276
new title-holder was considered formally and permanently installed in his title. 431
Conversely, at the installation of a king, the appointee would sit at the head
of his own kava ceremony and be presented with food tribute by his supporting [643]
chiefs. Although succession to noble titles is now legally defined, the monarch [178]
continues to install the nobility in the customary manner.

The law of succession to hereditary titles and lands is included both as 641
a clause in the Constitution (Clause 111) and in more detailed statutes of the
Land Act (Chapter 63, Clauses 37-42, *Law of Tonga*, 1967). Although there 428
are separate sets of clauses referring to the devolution of hereditary estates and 423
tax allotments in the Land Act, both sets are similar in content and formulation. 565
This similarity suggests an identity between special landholding in the form of 671

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[8] Although chiefly position, either as title or leadership, typically passed patrilineally in the traditional order, an individual's chiefly rank was a composite weighting of his father's chiefly rank with his mother's. In this weighting, the status or rank of one's mother carried more prestige, connoting that one had personally the chiefly blood of one's mother (and her chiefly group of origin), but possessed the chiefly position of one's father. I could obtain no clear indigenous explanations for this distinctive weighting or association of the chiefly child with its mother. Nonetheless, the ideal is for the child to be well-balanced, i.e., for both of its parents to be of chiefly status. A male child with only one chiefly parent (in most situations, a chiefly father and a commoner mother) is still considered chiefly, but is sometimes ridiculed as *ngesi tahe* ('half-shelled'). Even though formal legal definition of patrilineal succession to noble titles to some extent has subdued the importance of the rank of the mother in influencing the rank of the child, several modern nobles are 'half-shelled' and as such, are generally viewed as ordinary or common persons, but for their possession of titles.

than the way in which they noose sharks ; instances of sharks attacking 226
natives are very rare. Whales are sometimes caught. Turtles are also 225
plentiful. Perhaps the most interesting creature in Tonga is a land-
tortoise, now kept in the Palace grounds at Nuku'alofa, and reputed to 231
have been left by Captain Cook ; it has been scarred by bush-fires and 825
other accidents, but in its old age it is honoured as though it were a chief
and is called Tu'imalila, after a part of Labaha called Malila. 552

The graceful coconut-palm is the most distinctive as well as the 245
most valuable of plants in Tonga. All parts of the islands being very
close to the sea, coconut trees thrive everywhere, and copra, the dried
kernel of the nut, is the staple product. Other plants which grow in 241
profusion are many varieties of banana, plantain, yam, sweet potato,
talo, manioc, sugar-cane, pineapple, breadfruit, papaw-apple, mango and
arrowroot. Coffee, cocoa and cotton have been introduced but are not
yet extensively grown. Various European vegetables have also been
introduced, and corn has proved the best cereal for this climate.

Bananas, sweet potatoes, pineapples, tomatoes, pumpkins and 439
oranges could be exported in abundance, if markets were available. The
staple foodstuffs of the people are yam, sweet potato, talo, manioc, kabe, 262
plantain, breadfruit, etc.

The bark of the paper-bark mulberry is extensively used for making 824
native cloth (taba and gatu), and the sap of the koka tree is used for [287]
stamping this cloth. Mats are made from the leaves of the pandanus,
but unfortunately this domestic manufacture is declining generally, [285]
except in Ha'abai. The trunks of the toa (ironwood) and koka are used [178]
for the posts of native buildings, but timber generally suitable for building [313]
European houses is not found in Tonga. The ironwood or casuarina
tree was used for making clubs and spears formerly, and is still used for
spade handles and mallets. The best of the old canoes were brought 505
from Fiji, where more suitable timber for all purposes is available. 439

Kava, the juice of a species of pepper-plant, is the national drink
on all occasions. Other interesting trees are the ovava, a species of 276
banyan ; gatae and tuitui (candle-nut) used for marking boundaries ;
Malayan apple or fekika, tava, and the ifi, whose leaves were hung round 137
the neck in token of surrender or penitence in olden times. 824

Government statistics in 1931 show a total of 2,658,644 coconut
trees and 832,655 banana plants in the Kingdom, 94% being owned by 245
Tongan cultivators.

EXPORTS.

Tonga is entirely an agricultural country, being without minerals 433
and secondary industries. It is unfortunate that there are still fairly
considerable areas of undeveloped land even in such a small country, 433
especially in Togatabu and 'Eua, and further that several hundred tax- 311
payers have no allotments ; this latter condition is mainly due to indolence
on the part of some who live in the chief towns, but in the case of the
overcrowded islands of Ha'abai it rises from rather a natural reluctance
to leave an old home. The Government is now making strenuous efforts 179
to enforce both more systematic cultivation of coconut-growing land and 245

[1837-1851]

of the Gospel" (13 February 1850), and he wrote again, on 15 January 1851: 797
"Many young people have cast away the restraints of religion".(87) Modern 794
theologians would consider that these worthy men were insisting upon Old Testament law rather than "the Gospel".

The missionaries held the rigid views of behaviour found among Evangelicals in the mid-19th Century. They believed that prohibitions were necessary to mark the conversion from pagan practices, and they were saddened by instances of reaction against their policy. The Tonga Circuit report 1853-4 lamented the fact that "many who manifest great anxiety to progress in civilization imagine it necessary to throw off the restraints of religion".(88)

The Tongans' much-loved dancing was condemned by the early missionaries 797
because it often led to immorality, especially late at night; it was prohibited in 535
the Code of 1850. Actually, the words and actions of Tongan dances were more [833]
innocent than those used in other islands such as Rotuma where dances were definitely lascivious; in all cases, missionaries, who understood the languages better than most Europeans, knew the danger very well. To ban all dancing, however, and not just the night dances, was quite unjustifiable. Gradually the prohibition of these beautiful forms of recreation was relaxed. There has been no more popular, innocent, and indeed valuable cultural pastime in Tonga than the dances in which history, legends, occupations and even scenery are represented through singing and rhythmic movements.

Innocent sports, such as foot-races, canoe-races, and other diversions, were 797
banned because they had been used in pre-Christian days, and because they 526
occupied time that, the missionaries felt, should be given to productive employment. This insistence on a "work ethic" was characteristic of contemporary Protestant beliefs.

Smoking was prohibited for some years. Wilkes on his visit in 1840 noted 797
that it was very popular with the non-Christians but forbidden among the 276
converts whom Taufa'ahau had called upon to follow his example of abstinence. It was said to be undesirable and unhygienic when practised in crowded conditions. Rabone (29 September 1837) wrote that sometimes smoking led to a house being burnt down. It was also said that Tongans always swallowed the smoke, with harmful effects. More serious was the allegation that smoking gave opportunities for immoral conduct. W. G. R. Stephinson said that he had been told that, before their conversion, women smoking alongside men was a sign of their willingness
to practise immorality.(89) W. J. Davis (18 March 1862) said that smoking [833]

> is an introduction to the crying sin of Tonga, namely, fornication and adultery".(40)

The missionaries' example was emphasized. As early as 12 September 1838, Rabone wrote about another missionary who smoked:

> "Bro. ———— must either give it up or the people may be allowed".(41)

The brother in question was soon transferred to Fiji (but not, apparently, because of his smoking) and he proved a failure there, on other grounds.

Kava drinking, universally practised and rooted in Tongan custom, was never 797
prohibited. In this respect the missionaries in Tonga differed from some of their 273
counterparts in Fiji.

All customs associated with pre-Christian days, such as the presentation of 797
gifts at funerals, were banned, as these were regarded as offerings to the dead. 178
The missionaries were motivated always by the desire to make a complete external [764]

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
OU9 Tonga OU9

[1878-1879]

Baker's influence with the king had grown but his intimate concern with all 797
Government affairs had brought him unpopularity in many quarters. The sumptuary 671
and social laws for which Baker was partly responsible were vexatious to the
Tongans and a cause of criticism and even ridicule from European visitors and
British officials in Fiji. Some of the sumptuary laws undoubtedly proved profitable [651]
for the Government's coffers and also for the traders. There seemed to be no good 797
reason, for example, to prohibit the making of native cloth *(ngatu)* except on one 671
day weekly, unless it was to encourage the purchase of European clothing. Baker 291
gave a strange argument in his letter to Chapman (3 May 1876); he said that the
king wanted to do away with native clothing and he himself supported this policy
on the ground that

> "the natives will never use their land as long as they are allowed to use native clothing. I believe it breeds disease, engenders laziness, and costs more than good stout calico would cost." (53)

Rigid missionary feelings concerning decency may have influenced the laws
which inflicted a fine of $10 for a man not wearing a shirt in public and a fine
of $2 for a woman without a "pinafore" in her home or $3 for the same offence
outside her home. Smoking in the case of women was met with a fine of $2.50 797
with costs $1.50. Apart from the trivial nature of all these offences, the fines 671
inflicted were preposterous and oppressive in a poor community.(54) Fines for [276]
sexual offences were particularly heavy. Some Tongans went to eastern Fiji, to [684]
escape these harassing laws; this gave rise to the remark of Lorimer Fison, [167]
missionary in Fiji, "The baker there is making his laws too crusty".(55) The most
extraordinary example was Niua Fo'ou, with a population of under 2,000, and [681]
a record of $8,350 fines, including $4,613 for sexual offences, between March
1877 and July 1878.(56)

Sir Arthur Gordon, afterwards Lord Stanmore, first Governor of Fiji in 1874, frequently entered the scene in Tonga when he became High Commissioner for the Western Pacific. Gordon was soon critical of Baker because of his intrusion into politics and, especially, his pro-German policy. Gordon was an experienced colonial administrator, with a background of British culture and High Anglicanism, but he was always disposed to uphold the interests of indigenous Pacific peoples. He gave full recognition to the value of the Wesleyan Mission in Fiji although he evinced some disdain towards the missionaries themselves. This superior attitude was still more marked when he was dealing with an ill-educated and aggressive missionary-politician in Shirley Baker.

Gordon, after his visit to Tonga in 1878, stated —

> "I am informed that nearly 90% of the population were last year fined or imprisoned for [681]
> breaches of the sumptuary laws as to clothing, smoking, playing at games, &c." (57)

With regard to the prohibition upon making *ngatu*, Gordon said,

> "It is Mr. Baker who makes the laws, and this insisting on the adoption of European [291]
> clothes is enforced by heavy penalties".

Gordon also commented on Baker's extravagance in building a new girls' college [873]
for the Mission, "a huge, unfinished building, with three towers, built round a
quadrangle".(58)

In 1879 the highly unpopular sumptuary laws were either repealed or greatly 797
modified. The laws against *ngatu* making, except in large towns, were repealed. 671
The prohibition against women smoking was removed, except for persons under 646
sixteen years of age and child-bearing women. The wearing of shirts and

[1885]

> Wesleyan Free Church is not in connection with your Conference and manages its own financial affairs." 795

The letter proceeded to mention, without comment, the expected visit of the "deputation from General Conference".(49)

The king's grandson, the Crown Prince, Wellington Ngu, died of a heart 644
attack on 11 March 1885. Thus two generations of designated successors, in 764
'Unga and Ngu, had been removed by death in five years. The funeral took place [276]
at 'Uiha. No Wesleyans were allowed to participate in the funeral ceremonies or
sit in the kava-ring. No greater affront than this could have been offered to any [577]
Tongan chief. One of those so debarred was a grandson of the king. At a public 643
gathering at 'Uiha, later in the month, the king gave all who refused to join the 795
Free Church until the end of May to conform "or seek another country — Fiji 798
is the nearest", he said. The Wesleyans now knew what to expect.

During the protracted funeral ceremonies, on 25 March, Baker wrote to the 795
President of the Conference (1885), J. A. Nolan, from 'Uiha: 797

> "I am commanded by His Majesty King George, assembled with all the chiefs of Tonga 643
> for the purpose of doing honour to the remains of the Crown Prince. . . . to state that the line of conduct which Mr. Moulton is at present pursuing must ultimately lead to a breach of the peace between the chiefs and their people, and, that, if Mr. Moulton remains in Tonga, it is not possible to foresee what consequences it may lead to. His Majesty has therefore commanded me most respectfully to request you as President of the New South Wales and Queensland Conference immediately to exercise your authority and remove Mr. Moulton, and that, if you do not do so, His Majesty must hold you responsible for the consequences whatever they may be." (50)

Moulton's offence, at that time, was his publishing circular letters to the Wesleyans 795
not only urging them not to leave their Church but criticizing the formation of the 797
new Church.

Just before the deputation from General Conference arrived Baker received a letter from the Rev. Dr. E. I. Watkin, of Victoria, brother of J. B. Watkin, and a critic of Moulton. Naturally, he was receiving information from his brother. In this letter of 3 April 1885, Dr. Watkin expressed to Baker the hope that the Free Church would return to the Wesleyan Church, but, to make this possible, Moulton and his young colleague, Crosby, should be removed, and the Church in Tonga should be attached to the Victoria and Tasmania Conference. Dr. Watkin expressed strong criticism of the New South Wales and Queensland Conference in January 1884 for its failure to condemn Moulton for uttering words "capable of being construed as an imprecation against the king".

When the deputation (Langham, Rabone, and Watsford) arrived on 1 May, it found (as it reported), that

> "All Vava'u had turned to the new Church, nearly all Ha'apai, and more than half of Tongatapu. We found Mr. Baker supreme, in all but name the king of Tonga. We told him so, over and over again, and he could not deny it. . . . He is everything in the new Church . . . No one can fail to see this. Persecution, fierce and cruel persecution, has been carried on against our people. . . . The king's command is made known by the ruling chief at village meetings, and sometimes by Mr. Baker himself, that they should all turn to the Free Church." (51)

Both the king and Baker, in interviews with the deputation, admitted the use [687]
of force and punishment against many individuals, but averred that these were [688]
"not because they are Wesleyans but because they are with Mr. Moulton, who is
opposed to the Government". The deputation reported that Baker declared that
Moulton was working to secure the annexation of Tonga by Britain, but, they

A truly balanced design for the future must 179
combine the tourist interests with the other interests,
both economic and cultural, in Tongan life.

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13. TTC, August 8, 1974.

14. De Bres 1974:8.

15. Ron Crocombe 1972:6; and see Crocombe 1973.

16. United Nations 1969: paragraph 13.

17. TTC, April 10, 1975.

18. TTC, February 20, 1975.

19. For future research dealing specifically with 179
Tonga, the reader is encouraged to look to an M.A. in 648
Anthropology from California State University, Chico, 457
by Mr. R.B. Johnson Jr. Mr. Johnson gathered informa- 178
tion on tourism and culture change in Tonga over the 127
period February 1976-July 1976, and I am indebted
to him for some recent discussions.

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20. TTC, March 27, 1975.

21. P.D. Wallis 1971:21.

22. Tongans still enjoy their traditional *kava* drink, 178
but as stated elsewhere (1975b:46-47), when Tongans 457
begin to consume more alcohol than *kava*, "Tonga will 273
indeed have some problems, for this will be an indica- 674
tion that the basic fabric of their culture and society 276
has shifted."

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23. TTC, August 22, 1974.

24. TTC, October 12, 1972.

25. Anonymous 1970:20.

457 Tonga, and they want to "see" Tonga; but all too often cruise passengers
177 get only a look at a "phony-folk-culture" in action—a Disneyland of the Pacific, so to speak.

The air guests, fewer in number (but staying longer), may have a somewhat different experience. They have the opportunity to enjoy the recreational facilities of a tropical island—swimming, fishing, and snorkeling—and they may also have the opportunity to see more of the island at a gradual pace, to meet some of the truly hospitable Tongans on a person-to-person basis, and to share a truly cross-cultural educational experience. However, the actual experiences of the tourist can be less than this ideal.

457 Forster (1964, pp. 217-22) pointed out that one of the fascinating
aspects of the tourist process in the Pacific is the deliberate creation of a
177 "phony-folk-culture," which the indigenous inhabitants develop to pro-
535 vide "authentic native culture" to the tourists. For example, a popular tourist "attraction" is a display of dances in Tonga: the program may contain almost a dozen Fijian, Tahitian, Hawaiian, or New Zealand dances performed by the Tongan dancers but show only one or two Tongan dances. The fact is granted that a Tahitian *tamure* has a tremendous amount of visual impact, and a Fijian fire dance is dramatic, but Tongan dances have a beauty and symmetry of their own that should be performed for the visitors to Tonga.

457 It is this alteration of their basic culture that has prompted Tongans to
consider legislating the tourist industry. They seek to ensure the active
178 preservation of the traditional Tongan way of life and culture by integrating traditional patterns into mass tourism and not making traditional culture a contemporary "phony-folk-culture."

Other tangible and observable social problems have developed in the
[735] Kingdom as a result of the tourist influx: some Tongan children now beg
[548] from tourists at the major tourist attractions; prostitution and homosexual-
[838] ity appear to be increasing (not necessarily for the tourists but for the
[435] crew members of the cruise ships); tourists are harassed as they walk through city streets and villages; and price-gouging, especially for transportation, is a common complaint.

The substantial amount of quickly-generated cash derived from cruise
457 ship passengers (for an "authentic" Polynesian feast, shore excursions
434 around the island, and the purchase of handicrafts), when placed into
527 circulation in the port towns, can be the occasion for a party. Drinking
may commence even before the ship has weighed anchor and drunken-
273 ness appears to be a major source of crime. Tongans still enjoy their
traditional *kava* drink, but as I have stated elsewhere, when individuals
● [276] begin to consume more alcohol than *kava*, in violation of their Christian
[178] ethic, it is an indication that the basic fabric of their culture and society
457 has shifted. In recent years Tongans have been evicted from their own
273

96: Lister N-5 (1889-1890) 1891
OU9 Tonga OU9

[Eua Island]

133 (135) Among the volcanic fragments Mr. Harker has detected red garnet and tourmaline, whose presence indicates the existence of metamorphic rocks somewhere in the vicinity.

A similar partly calcareous rock occurs at the northern end of terrace *b*, where the volcanic basis is exposed *.

[134] The uppermost part of the volcanic formation consists of red, yellow, and brown beds of ashes, which are very much decomposed by weathering. Some are nearly horizontal, others a good deal contorted, but they are never, so far as I observed, regularly inclined at an angle, as though they had formed part of a volcanic cone.

As mentioned above, dykes of intrusive rock project on the eastern shore. They are composed of augite- and hypersthene-[412] andesites. Large rounded boulders of this rock, mixed with boulders of coral, form the shore, and the natives obtain here the hard ●[276] rounded stones which are used for pounding the root of the kava plant, in the preparation of the beverage of that name. The dykes penetrate the beds of tuff and form well-marked projections at the surface; they do not, however, penetrate the overlying limestone.

Besides the intrusive rocks there is a crystalline, plutonic rock in this part of the island, of which I obtained a specimen from a boulder on the shore. Mr. Harker describes it as "uralitized gabbro." Although I did not find this rock *in situ*, I have no doubt that it exists as a natural constituent of the island. It is highly improbable that a boulder should be brought here by artificial means, for there is no possible landing-place for vessels along the whole of this eastern coast, and the only access to it from the anchorage on the western side is by steep hill-paths. A reef about 100 yards wide stretches out from the shore, and on the edge of this reef a vessel would strike, supposing one to be wrecked. I think therefore it may be concluded that the rock occurs naturally on the island.

The volcanic basis of Eua appears to have been produced by an extensive submarine eruption which formed a mound of considerable extent, and into which lava was injected.

The eruption seems to have occurred at some depth, for the organisms found mingled with the volcanic materials are, according to Dr. Murray, pelagic and not shallow-water forms. Subsequent to its formation and the cessation of the volcanic forces, but prior to the deposition of the overlying limestones, the mound was elevated to at least its present height and considerably denuded. The evidence for this denudation is afforded by the elongated shape, and the steepness of the eastern slope of the volcanic basis which underlies the limestone; these imply the removal of a considerable part of the original mound, which is built up in the main of horizontal layers. After its denudation the island subsided again, before the deposition of the limestone formation.

The limestones invest nearly the whole of the lower part of Eua up to a level of about 500 feet, and above this level they occur, though less continuously, as high as the summit.

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* Slide No. 1272.

177 /18 cont./
181 European goods to the accumulation of material "wealth" (through copra
186 production, trade); the dissemination of the Christian teaching of the
[563] equality of all men before God may have also buttressed the Tongans'
[565] self-assurance in the presence of Europeans. Among some of these
natives the conviction that they will never be able to become "like the
Europeans" may probably also have led them to cling to their ancient
self-assurance, realizing as they did the values of their Tongan culture. (7)

[644] 7. Perhaps the attitude of the Crown Prince
[645] and Prime Minister Tungi should also be
[178] understood in this sense; along with all
[291] the intensive Europeanizing plans for his
country, and after completion of his studies in Sydney, he again dresses in the Tongan vala (a cloth wrapped around the waist and reaching to above the knees, often down to the ankles) and the ta'o-vala (a fine, plaited mat slung over the upper part of the vala like a wide belt); he recommends this apparel (along with the customary European shirts) for all Tongan government employees, and likewise promotes other Tongan customs that seem important in his eyes.

177 Along with this strong self-assurance the Tongan has maintained a
181 certain conservative attitude. The natives, though flexible and open
178 to everything new, nonetheless cling very much, sometimes downright
rigidly, to parts of their ancient life style and their tradition.
/19/ For example, in covering a house with sheet metal, they go to
great trouble to build ancient Tongan round ends and reshape the metal
accordingly. On the smaller islands at any rate, Tongans who own a bed,
a table and a chair sleep on a mat, sit on the floor and eat with their
fingers. Every Tongan can procure tea, coffee, cocoa, lemonade and so
[276] on, but the kawa drink is still in the center of all social gatherings
and is consumed now at least as much as in the past.

181 The majority of Tongans are today just as goodnatured, happy,

/42 cont./

757 hortensia Forster var. simplicifolia [Rech.] K. Schumann).

/43/3. Toothache. You pulverize the root of the plant te'e te'e manu, wrap it in a piece of kaka 'i niu (a brown, natural bast tissue at the base of the leaf stem of the coconut palm, which envelopes the lower part of the coconut palm leaves), then place this bag in a bowl (cup) of hot or warm water, squeeze it out several times and rinse your mouth with the liquid, then spit it out. Chewing Tongan tobacco is often substituted for this treatment. [824] [276]

4. Earache. If a visible inflamation (pimple, boil) seems to be the cause, the person administering the treatment uses uhi leaves and "tongan oil" (its preparation p. 62). If the cause of the pain cannot be determined, he takes only Tongan oil, warms it in a small spoon over a flame and lets a few drops fall into the painful ear of the patient. Then he closes the ear opening with a piece of soft tapa or wool.

5. Inflamed eyes (red eyeballs). The leaves of heilala or fisi'uli are chewed, wrapped in a piece of white tapa, a little warm water is added and the liquid is dripped into the patient's eyes.

6. Cough. The bark of the toa tree (Casuarina equisetifolia L.) is grated, wrapped in kaka 'i niu (see no. 3). mixed with cold water and the liquid is given the patient to drink. Sometimes the bark of the fekika tree (Eugenia malaccensis L.) is used together with the bark of the tui tui tree (Aleurites moluccana [L.] Willd.) in the same manner.

7. Stomachache (colic). The bark of the ngatae tree (Erythrina variegata L. var.) and of the mohokoi tree (Cananga odorata [Lam.] Hook f. and Thomson) are pulverized, then mixed in a kaka 'i niu sheath (see no. 3) and put in a cup (bowl) of cold water which is then given the patient to drink.

/75 cont./

584 apparently occur more seldom today. Kinship marriages (cousins) are
582 very rare, since the brother-sister taboo extends to this degree
of relationship and is still very much in effect. However, as in
former times, people like to marry on the same island and in the
same district--though avoiding all kinfolk.

832 The Tongan ideal of feminine beauty has changed. The obese type
177 with very fat legs is no longer favored, but rather the well-rounded,
somewhat sturdy girl is preferred. This change of taste undoubtedly
came about through acquaintance with the European ideal by way of
films and photographs in magazines and newspapers. Yet the beautiful
white girl type is still too thin for most Tongans.

581 A young man who likes a girl because of her beauty and/or her
domestic efficiency and her character well enough to marry her may not
at once become friends with her publicly. An unmarried Tongan man is
584 generally not permitted (217)

571 217. That is to say, on the small islands; in the seaports this custom is being relaxed.

to go for a walk with a girl in the village. The girl's reputation
[558] would be ruined if, for example, she were seen sitting alone with
[177] a young man on the beach by moonlight. Such "English customs"
are still disapproved by most Tongans. European manifestations
832 of tenderness--such as a kiss on the lips--have not found general
177 acceptance. (218)

218. The nose kiss ('uma) is, however, still very common; this touching of nose to nose (while holding one's breath) is done chiefly when relatives greet each other after a rather long separation.

574 The best opportunity to become acquainted with a girl, to be
584 276 together with her, is still the social event of a kava gathering.
(219)

/75 cont./

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276 219. Compare p. 144 ff.
Either the young man now visits kava gatherings where the /76/ girl he desires is already preparing the kava, or he will gather together several young men, go to the place where the girl lives with her parents, and ask her to prepare kava for the little group. Such kava gatherings may last from early evening until far into the night, sometimes even until daybreak. The visitors, talk and sing, perhaps also to guitar accompaniment, while the girl prepares the kava. The young man who has his eye on the girl also has a chance, in the general conversation, to exchange a few words with her, but sometimes, as a result of adverse circumstances or his own shyness, he can only gaze at her the whole evening. This somewhat passive courtship may go on for months until the young man, at a kava gathering, if he manages to sit next to the girl, will confess his great love for her, beg her to marry him and will ask when the wedding can take place. In case the girl does not disapprove, she usually answers that he should decide the time of the marriage. The young Tongan goes home and tells his parents that he wishes to marry this girl and that she is willing.

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276 Then one evening, he, his father and perhaps two relatives (cousins, brothers of the bridegroom or of the father) go together to the house of the girl's father with a long piece of kava (kava tafuna), the contents of a large earth oven (for example, a pig, yams, breadfruit, taro, sweet potatoes) or a 40-pound canister (or two) of zwieback. They place the kava and the rest of the gifts in the center of the house and the girl's father, she herself (possibly also her mother) and the newcomers form a kava circle.
584
574
276 The bridegroom's father brings up his son's request, the girl's father expresses his thanks and asks the girl. After she has agreed to the suit, the

/76 cont./

584 574 father likewise makes known his positive decision, the wedding day is
276 set, (220)

220. For example, in a week; sometimes also a few days later, so that no other youth will "run away" with the girl.

kava is drunk, the details are discussed and the gathering breaks up.

584 [431] In case the girl or her father (or both) reject the proposition, the young man's party returns home immediately and, in most cases, leaves behind the gifts that were brought. The latter are sometimes returned to the suitor. The matter is then dismissed, unless the girl who is willing to marry persuades her father to change his mind, or the two young people decide on a flight marriage (see p. 66).

584 574 604 [178] This method of courtship, despite all formality, appears to be the changed, simplified, "modern" way. The undoubtedly older form of courtship, in which, since in old times, /77/ the brothers of the father had the last word and an important role, also still exists, especially, of course, in the villages of the small islands. In
[431] this case the paternal uncle of the young man eager for marriage goes to the paternal uncle of the girl he has chosen, and takes along kava and food (earth oven: pig and produce from the plantings; today also more often in the modern manner, a large canister of zwieback or a number of loaves of white bread). There he asks the girl's uncle for
[276] his consent to the marriage; however, usually he is not given an answer immediately, but after a kava drink they part, for the paternal uncle or the girl must first ask her. After three or four days or after a week the young man's uncle again visits the girl's uncle and is given the answer. This is, of course, "yes" if the girl and her uncle consent. The answer is negative if the girl is disinclined. In case the uncle rejects the proposal, but the girl is in favor of it, the answer may be positive (lost authority of the paternal uncle?),

/77 cont./

584 574 604 especially if the girl's family do not wish her to change her mind. If the outcome is positive, the two paternal uncles decide on the date of the wedding.

In any case, the consent of the girl is essentia. This is probably similar to conditions in ancient Tonga, for Mariner reports that the majority of women married of their own free will. (221)

221. That is to say, those who, in his opinion, did not belong to the group of women two-thirds of whom/one-third? see footnote 216 F. S./ ^A were betrothed in early childhood to men of higher rank (J. Martin, *loc cit*. II. p. 167).

584 Until the wedding, the bridegroom then mostly visits his bride every evening while her parents are asleep, and chats with her, especially about the forthcoming festivity. Nothing else happens. However, it may also come about that the partners marry without ever having talked together previously (the older custom?). In some cases [574] the father of the bridegroom sends food and kava every evening until [431] the wedding day to the girl's place (for her and her parents); the [276] bridegroom and his relatives go there, drink kava, chat and sing (and dance).

585 292 On the day of the wedding, the bridegroom dons his best *vala* and his best shirt, in addition to several *ta'o-vala* (of the finest quality: the *kie Tonga*), (222) hangs one or two *sisi kakala* (223) around his shoulders and fetches his bride, who is wearing a particularly fine dress and likewise some three *kie Tonga* and *sisi kakala*, from her place in order to go with her to the registrar (or to ride if the latter is in another village or on another island) where the 585 602 official marriage certificate is drawn up. Several /78/ relatives

222. Compare p. 310-312.

223. Compare p. 82 84

^A [See footnote 216 on p. 108--Analyst]

/79 cont./

585 which all the guests seat themselves along with the couple who occupy
574 the place of honor, namely the chieftain's place. Even at a simple
[554] wedding there may be 80 persons assembled. It is now three or four
585 o'clock in the afternoon. Kava is prepared, (226)
574

276 226. See page 144ff.

and the bride, as the principal person, is given the most honorable,
third cup, even if it is a wedding of commoners and a chief is present
as a guest. In this kava circle the bride and bridegroom sit on the
[604] laps of their respective maternal uncles (tu'a-sina). Following this,
585 the mats and tapa brought as gifts by the two kinship groups are dis-
574 tributed, after the bridal couple have received their share, and
431 the contents of the earth oven (or ovens, see above) are distributed
among the relatives of the bride and groom. This food is not immed-
iately eaten (or only part of it) while most of it (227)

227. Sometimes a regular meal is eaten.

585 is taken home. The bride also goes to her paternal home along with
her relatives, while the bridegroom remains behind.

It is only on the following evening, or even after two or three
[177] days, that the bride returns with her relatives; her mother or her
mother's brother (tu'a-sina) carries her bed (mats, (228)

228. They consist chiefly of the fala paongo,
fala tutu'ila, fala fihu.

tapa and usually a European sheet and pillow) into the house of the
[574] bridegroom. The relatives (229)

[276] 229. According to the original custom, only
[602] older women who acted as witnesses; today,
[178] however, a rather large circle of individuals
of both sexes.

of both sides gather together in a kava circle which lasts into the
night, amid talking and singing: they are waiting for the marriage
to be consummated. The next morning, the sheet (or tapa) is

764 /86 cont./
[354] and a deceased commoner is now probably given more lamps then was
(177) formerly customary and that was permissible, compared with chiefs. It
[565] is forbidden to smoke in the house or to drink kava or eat food. The
(784) village chief, the *matapule* and other villagers drink kava and eat in
(276) (622) a neighboring house; they talk about the deceased and his good deeds.
[565] If the deceased was a member of the Wesleyan church (like most
[794] Tongans), the choir of the village church come and (usually standing
[533] in an adjoining room of the death house) sing hymns until daybreak.
This is perhaps a substitute for the old individual mourning songs.
(243)

243. Compare E.W. Gifford, *Tongan Society.* p. 198.

A few relatives have meanwhile gone into the bush in order to gather sticks (for example, of *siale mohe mohe*) which they lash with bast from the *fau* (*Hibiscus tiliaceus*) to make the traditional latticed bier (*fata*). A kinsman has arranged with the pastor the time of burial; the date was, for example, proposed by the widow and the rest of the relatives agree. (244)

244. Many burials take place early in the morning; but afternoon is also a preferred time.

The time of burial has arrived. The satin, the handkerchief and the mats are removed from the deceased, the tapa on which he is lying is folded around him and tied with another piece of tapa. The bier is covered with mats (*papa* and *fala paongo*) and tapa (*ngatu tahina* or *ngatu'uli*). The deceased is laid on this; the satin sheet and handkerchief are again placed over him and everything is shrouded with one (or two) valuable mat(s) and a large piece of tapa (*ngatu'uli*).
[202] Then the church bells are rung and ten or 20 younger relatives (not the sons) carry the bier to the graveyard. (245)

[184] 245. In Nuku'alofa (Tongatapu) where the graveyard is more distant and the technical facilities are more progressive, the corpse is driven to the grave on a truck.

/88 cont./
764 to the gathering, thanks them for coming and suggest that they now go
765 to the house of the deceased. There they drink kava (women and girls
574 may also take part in this gathering) and wait for the contents of
[276] the large earth oven being prepared by the family of the deceased.
[562] These contents (for example, a pig, yams, kape, taro, manioc, etc.)
are divided up in baskets (of plaited palm leaves), one of which each
guest receives. In a town like Fungamisi/Vava'u, the earth oven is
sometimes already replaced by several hundred loaves of white bread
which are bought in a bakery. A very well-to-do Tongan may entertain
the mourners for ten days with food and lodging. But usually, after
the baskets have been distributed and the last kava has been drunk,
the guests return home, possibly after the "eldest" has thanked
them again for their sympathy.

765 Only close relatives (on both sides) usually remain for ten
[602] days in the house of the deceased, (256)
765 whose family look after them. There is a complete noise ban in the
784 village (for example, no one may beat tapa, call loudly, sing [except
in church] and dance) for a few days, and /89/ work (especially
cooperative work) is at a temporary standstill. According to the old
765 custom, the noise ban for commoners probably lasted ten days and for
784 chiefs correspondingly longer, depending on their rank. Nowadays,
178 however, among commoners, the taboo is usually officially lifted for
[565] relatives after three days (or even on the evening of the day of
burial), following a meal with singing and dancing, and, for example,
in the rapidly growing village of Pangai (on Lifuka), a traffic and
government center of the Ha'apai group, such a taboo is often observed
only in the vicinity of the house of the deceased. (257)

256. Some of them sleep in the houses of neighbors; special huts for the mourners are no longer built.

765 /89 cont./

789 178 257. Only the beating of tapa is generally not resumed for a few days or weeks.

[554] For a high-ranking deceased, however, a longer noise ban (of ten days or more) is still observed.

765 [531] On the morning after the funeral the women (that is, the female relatives of the deceased and possibly neighbors) fetch basketsful of sand from the beach and make a grave mound which they soon decorate with black pebbles (if available), small red and white coral stones and *ki-kie lou fau* (and *sisi kakala*) (see above). On this day, people also
765 574 216 frequently observe the old "pongi-pongi" which formerly went on for ten days: (258)

258. According to statements of aged Tongan.

notables (chiefs, *matapule*) of the village and other people come, kava is drunk in ceremonial order, and the relatives of the deceased distribute the contents of an earth oven which they have prepared.

765 After the funeral, the wife of the deceased, her daughters and sons (also accompanied by a few relatives) go every day to the grave to weed and keep the mound in order. Often a few villagers will gather for several days with the relatives for a kava circle, and the close relatives of the deceased continue wearing, every day (sometimes also at night) for some three months (or a year), the torn mat (*tauanga'a*, *liongi*, *motumotu*) which they put on for the burial ceremonies, (fastened with bast or a European cord), as a visible sign of mourning.
[177] The European custom of a black arm band has found limited acceptance.

After a few years the majority of the people scarcely pay any attention to the graves; this attitude is reminiscent of that of commoners in times past. (259)

259. Compare E.W. Gifford, *Tongan Society*, p. 201.

[178] [565] [574] [784] This burial procedure is usually the rule. However, there are certain deviations, since it is left to the relatives, at any rate

527 /99 cont./
177
[621] return, collects presents. Brass bands or groups of guitar players
[533] go about in the same way.
[431] It is not only on these festivals that the Christian religion
794 has taken on a certain importance in the community life of the village.
177 It is specifically through the integration of large sections of the
182 population in the many services of the various churches that it exerts
a certain influence on group formation in all settlements. Moreover,
[533] the bringing together of numerous adults of both sexes in the choirs
(each with some 50-150 voices strong) of the individual Wesleyan
churches has become important in the community life of many villages,
for the numerous evening rehearsals are a very welcome change in the
everyday life of the vocally gifted and song-loving Tongan men and
women.

527 Whereas the festivals mentioned (kautaha-show, faka-afe), the
574 church services and the choirs each unite only a certain part of the
182 village population (through membership or by special invitation), the
621 old Tongan custom of the sociable kava circle has remained an
institution of community life that is accessible to every adult male
Tongan.

276 In ancient Tonga more kava was probably drunk than on the other
islands of the South Seas. (273)

[797] Although the missionaries did not by any means encourage the natives
[178] in this custom, (274)
it determines social life at least as much today as in the past and
[191] perhaps even more. In Tonga far more kava is drunk than in Samoa

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273. See J. Cook, Beschreibung...VI. p. 224;
Johann Reinhold Forster's Bemerkungen...
/Comments/ p. 416.

[113] 274. See J.E. Erskine, Journal of a cruise among the islands of the western Pacific...
/cited in English/ London 1853. p. 149.

/99 cont./

276 [171] and Fiji, for example, where this custom has also been preserved. Kava is, without reservation, the essential element of community life in Tonga.

[249] [438] Kava (Piper methysticum) is still planted on all Tongan islands However, on a few it is scarce (as a result of reduced planting, too great consumption or destruction by pits), and the kava roots are obtained from other islands of the Archipelago, often by the bag, at five £T a bag (approximately 47 German marks), or are bought by the piece in (retail) shops in the village. When people want to drink kava they take a few roots and go to a house in the village that seems appropriate (with regard to owner and space) and ask if kava might be made. Or, if one or several friends happen to be in a person's house, its preparation is immediately begun, generally /100/ by a young girl (or a woman), more seldom by a man. This girl pounds the root between stones (maka toto lalo and maka toka 'olunga) over a mat (fala tuki kava) and pours the coarse flour thus obtained into the kava bowl (kumete kava). The bowl is the most important piece
[415] of property of every household; it is artistically carved out of a
[322] block of wood and has a diameter up to one meter and four to sixteen
[439] /sic/ feet. Many of these bowls come from Fiji, but they are also made in Tonga on most of the islands, chiefly on 'Eua. As needed
[415] (depending on the quantity of kava meal), water dipped from a zinc bucket standing in readiness is ladled out with a coconut shell (ipu kava) and poured onto the meal in the bowl. The meal is kneaded in the water. Then with a bundle of bast (fau tau kava) (from fau = Hibiscus tiliaceus) they take the remnants of kava out of the liquid, wring out the bundle with a firm grip over the bowl and shake the squeezed-out residue (which, after drying, is sometimes used a second time) onto the mat. With the bast bundle a portion of the now finished kava drink is taken out of the bowl and the coconut cup

/100 cont./

276 is filled, which the recipient must now empty in one draught. The work can be carried out by the girl alone. However, one or two young men may assist her in pounding the kava root and adding the water.

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This procedure resembles the one customary in ancient Tonga. In those days, however, the kava roots were chewed; (275)

275. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 189/190.

the missionaries influenced the natives to perform this work with stone slabs and stone pestles (from the volcanic islands of the Archipelago). (276)

276. See H.N. Moseley, Notes by a naturalist... /cited in English/ p. 287.

276
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415

The old water vessels (hollow coconuts, calabashes, wooden bowls) were also replaced by European buckets. It is interesting that the Tongans never drink kava out of a European cup (even though porcelain cups or tin mugs are found in every house), but only out of coconut cups (277)

(178)

277. The banana-leaf cups observed by Mariner (J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 197) are no longer made, probably because it is too inconvenient to bring the banana leaves from distant plantations to the village.

which, with the wooden bowl, the mat and the bast bundle form a natural unit. The bucket which is a somewhat jarring note does not bother anyone, even though the natives have a certain feeling for bad taste (for example, a Tongan would never wear a ta'o-vala with trousers). (278)

278. See page 69-71.

276
574

The kava group (that is, the men gathered together to drink and socialize) (279)

(562)

279. Women do not as a rule drink kava; they often sit in another part of the house and listen to the conversation of the men.

/100 cont./

276 is arranged in such a way that a circle is formed within the hut, of
574 which the girl with the kava bowl is a part. Opposite her, on side
276 of the circle, sits, as a rule, the most important of the assembled
554 personalities. Even though, as in the majority of such gatherings
574 among commoners, the whole takes place without any particular formality,
the natives do observe this seating order. On either side of the
[565] honored person, even at simple kava circles, the matapule (280)
sometimes sit, one of whom orders and supervises the preparation in its
individual stages and then directs the serving, at which first the
/101/ other matapule, then another person present and, as a third, the
honorary individual (281)
receives the filled cup (one of several cups filled in rotation). The
formality in preparation and serving increases with the rank of the
persons present. Thus there are many kava gatherings in which the kava
[565] is prepared and served without any ceremony, and others (in circles
[576] of chiefs) in which the matapule directing the distribution and
serving is led out and replaced by another if, when serving, he makes
a mistake in the ranking order of kava drinkers. The highest and
[643] most complicated development is the kava circle of the Tu'i Kanokupolu,
which even today is carried out with the greatest ceremony.

276 Even while the kava drink is being prepared (in an "unofficial"
574 gathering in the village), further participants may have arrived,
lured by the steady pounding of the stones, and as long as the
gathering lasts more men may show up and enlarge the circle. As a
rule, every new arrival will bring along a few pieces of kava root
and throw them in the center of the room (or in front of the matapule
who are directing the preparation). The men gathered together

80. The matapule were originally the personal attendants, helpers and advisors of the chiefs.

281. See also J. Martin, *loc. cit.* I. p. 410.

/101 cont./ The men gathered together
276 (usually between five and fifteen) talk. The older ones speak about
574 their plantations and their remarkable harvests or setbacks, or about
521 fishing and the various methods employed. They will also discuss in detail the special events on the island and in the Archipelago, and from minor and harmless occurrences the most exciting stories may develop. The younger ones take part in these conversations, or they will chat with the girl preparing the kava. (282)

> 282. She does not drink the kava and may not leave her seat throughout the entire session; once she goes out, another girl must continue in her stead.

[533] Sometimes the younger ones may sing, and then the quiet, even conversa-
276 tion of the older ones will cease. While new kava drink is prepared and
574 served again and again, the group stays together, from early evening, for example, until far into the night, sometimes even until daybreak. In this case, the old custom is sometimes observed that the men, on
[431] the next day, will prepare a large earth-oven (possibly with a pit) as "compensation" for their wives, and the wives will give them gifts of tapa and mats.

There are no special houses for kava circles within the village. Every house of a specific minimal size is suitable. In every village there are several kava gatherings in different houses every
(182) day (especially in the evening). In general, the men do not go regularly to a specific kava circle; the houses as well as the members
(621) of the groups change, and this fulfills the essential function of kava drinking, namely, to unite the male members of the village community beyond all separation through family life and the religious affiliation, in any combination and at any time.

276 Not only in these free social gatherings, but also on all
574 special occasions kava drinking is a necessary accompaniment. At
461 every type of community work in the village, for example if a few

/101 cont./

276 men /102/ mend their large fish net or if a group is carrying out a
574 building project, kava is served. Especially on the occasion of a
461 major undertaking, such as the building of a new house, there is
always a group of older Tongans present who do not join in but, united
in a kava circle, sanction the work through their presence in this
form. (283)

> 283. Also in construction work of a European nature (for example, building a cement tank for drinking water, making concrete blocks for a church building) this custom is observed.

276 Naturally, there is also no Tongan festival possible without kava. It
527 belongs to a wedding as well as a funeral, and it is served at all
585 other festive occasions--generally before the meal.
764

Very probably the role of kava in the social life of the village,
276 compared with its significance in old times, has not diminished, but
178 actually increased. For this too an important reason may be the
greater freedom and independence today of the mass of the people, the
commoners. The old custom of kava drinking is so deeply rooted in
[177] Tongan life that neither European influences of the past nor those of
the present have been able to displace it or even diminish it.
[273] Alcohol, to be sure, is very difficult to obtain for the Tongans, (284)
[272]

> 284. Only with a permit from the police minister or by the dangerous way of the black market or non-licensed brewing.

but even easily available beverages such as tea, coffee, cocoa and
lemonade have not in the least displaced kava. It, along with the
[415] typical wooden bowl and the coconut cups today form a seemingly indestructable cultural asset. The large ceremonial kava gatherings
276 of chiefs which Mariner reports (285)
574

> 285. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 184 ff.

565
178 have today been simplified--in accordance with the gradual decrease
of power of the nobles--though they have not disappeared.

/104 cont./

178 receive special respect in public; these two groups are today the
565 only big landowners in Tonga. (292)

> 292. Even a few matapule were at the time elevated to the ranks of nopele.

They are shown universal respect. (293)

> [576] 293. For example, they are still greeted on the street by some approaching commoners with a raised right hand; at the very least, the one approaching will remove his cigarette from his lips, and girls and women will lower their umbrellas carried as a protection against the sun. These types of greeting were introduced in the second half of the last century in place of the earlier /custom of/ crouching beside the path when a noble passed by.

The nopele today either work on their plantations themselves or they lead the old life of chiefs and spend their days in conversation and kava drinking.

565 Among the rest of the chiefs only those are particularly
554 respected by the public who, for reasons of state, have obtained an
178 office (for example, "town officer," "district officer" /cited in English/). The nopele and the landless chiefs /105/ are today witnessing the emancipated young commoners eagerly attending schools. Knowledge and ability are threatening to endanger the privilege of birth. Besides, some commoners, as a result of today's high copra prices, are becoming wealthy through their coconut plantations and their business skill, and are acquiring a greater economic potential than many chiefs. With a principle of "equal rights for all" many a chief sees himself pushed to the periphery of practical life in the more hectic "modern" system.

565 It is only on official occasions, especially in the kava
554 gathering, that rank and title still enjoy their old prestige. In
178 the apparently imperishable kava circle the chief occupies the place
276
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/105 cont./

565 of honor. And the ceremony of kava-serving still singles him out as
554 the most important person in the circle, even when important officials
178 or men (from among commoners) who are influential as a result of their
276 personality or their wealth are among the present. The mere fact
574 that a man in the village has some chief's blood in his veins or that
he bears a title which was once granted him or his ancestors and
causes him to be regarded as *matapule*, (294) gives him priority in the kava circle over knowledge, ability and wealth.

294. On Nomuka, for example, in all kava circles of commoners (among whom there are a few officials and respected Tongans), the Tei is given the seat of honor without reservation. The old title of Tei was at one time created by the Tu'i Tonga, and its bearer had to take care of fishing for *'ava* (fish) and transporting the ruler. The title continued to be renewed, so that today the Tei is commonly regarded as "fisherman to the Queen."

565 Though the respect of commoners for landless chiefs has been
576 considerably reduced in public, it has not entirely disappeared. For
554 almost every commoner, when he visits a chief, will don his *ta'o-vala*
178 (the mat as a sign of respect), and among the people no one generally
dares to wear the finest mats (for example, *kie ta'o-vala*) to which
formerly only chiefs were entitled, except for church-going or
weddings, even though the constitutions permit such attire. In
565 case of death, too, a longer noise- and work-taboo is usually observed
178 for chiefs than for commoners. The majority of the people still have
764 a silent respect respect for rank and title. (295)
784

(291) (177) 295. Outwardly the difference between nobles and commoners has been completely effaced, for all classes today wear the same European clothing.

/140 cont./

283 and then the three-strand cord is plaited from these small bundles.
283 This method of preparation probably corresponds to the ancient Tongan
178 procedure except for two deviations: In the old days it was probably
generally customary to "bake" the coconut husks in an earth oven and
only then to place them in the sea; occasionally this complicated
method is still used today by leaving the husks (wrapped in koko
leaves) (373) for hours or days (up to one month) in the earth oven--soon grown cold--and thereafter keeping them in sea water for two or three weeks.
[171] Secondly, in former times, the natives probably wound the little fiber
bundles with a single fiber before plaiting them, as is occasionally
still done in Samoa; this procedure is slower, but guarantees
greater durability of the cord.--Making coconut cords is men's and
[462] women's work, but is done mostly by the men. Often, several men do
[574] the plaiting together, and they also like to do this work in the kava
[276] gatherings. However, the cords are much less often made than they
were even a few decades ago when one constantly saw men plaiting kafa
in the kava circles. In those days they apparently also liked to lay
in a supply, and the demand for better built houses of ancient Tongan
[461] style was probably greater. Today, three men plait up to 200 meters
of coconut-fiber cord in four hours (as a day's output). In this
way three people can, in three months, make the necessary amount of
kafa for a rather large house of ancient Tonga style, whereas they
finish this work for a small house in less than a month--if they
persist in plaiting their quota every day.

342 A further concern of the Tongan who wants to build a house in
313 the old Tongan style is to procure the posts and beams. The Tonga
[824] Islands are poor in lumber, and if a person does not have a few koka
[439]

373. Bischofia javanica Bl.

/143 cont./

342 served, and at 15 o'clock everyone gets his basket with his share of
272 the earth-oven meal: manioc, *kape*, sweet potatoes and salted
264 beef, along with a coconut mug of beef broth. In the afternoon, while
342 a few natives continue splitting and planing rafters, others, with
331 the *huo lafa-lafa* (shovel iron), (374)

374. See p. 233-234.

level the ground measured off by the carpenter for the house. Under a
[276] temporary corrugated metal roof a kava group of ten older men is
[571] gathered. At 18:45 fried cakes and orange-leaf tea are again handed
[264] out. Then the men slowly go home; a few natives take along a
basket of leftovers from the afternoon meal.

[332] On the third day of work, more rafters and curved sections of
[412] beams are made; the ground plan of the house (in ancient Tongan style)
[177] is marked out, and an approximately 15 centimeter excavation is dug
(tools: two *huo spade* [a small iron blade set on an old digging stick;
[276] see page 234] and a European shovel). Four older Tongans form a kava
[571] circle. The meals are the same as on the previous days. The work
[796] stops toward 16 o'clock, for at 17 o'clock the usual church service
(Friday) is held.

[335] On the subsequent work days the posts and beams (native and
Canadian wood) are cut and planed with the carpenter's tools
(transverse hatchet, saws, planes, adzes); the work on the rafters
(total number 250) also continues. The meals corresponds to those
[276] of the preceding days. The kava gathering of older men continues to
[571] assemble on the building site.

342 Finally, the four customary posts that are to carry the roof are
331 set in place. However, the carpenter intends to give the house more
335 room and to replace the "disturbing" posts with special supports of
Canadian building timber, leading upward obliquely from the side walls;

/177 cont./

226 a few hours (or at the next ebb tide) the catch is taken in.

Fishing with a Weir:

pa:

In shallow water the natives erect weirs made of posts and wire netting, in specific directions, so that the fish are induced to swim through the entrance posts into the marked-off corners; they can only swim in, but cannot get out again (used especially in Tongatapu).

pola:

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[824] In this method of fishing, which is a large community undertaking, very many people take part. On a sand bank on the shore, at ebb tide, a large chain of plaited halves of coconut palm leaves (*pola*) is laid out in a semicircle (with its opening toward the shore) and is partly buried. At flood tide the people approach the enclosed area from the outside, erect the "weir" of coconut palm leaves and prop it up with clubs. Hundreds of people, indeed more than a thousand, of both sexes and all ages then wait on the outside of the weir until the water recedes, to make sure that no fish excape. When ebb tide has commenced all the natives, at a given signal, enter the enclosure where there are great numbers of fish in the shallow water and in pools. They are caught and killed (usually with spears).

226 /178/

Fishing with Poison:

'aukava:

[824] The bark (or fruit) of the *futu* tree (*Barringtonia* species) is pounded between stones, or the bark of the kava shrub is grated, a bag (*kaka 'i niu* [see page 58] or cotton) is filled with the meal, the bag is wrung out at ebb tide in the water-filled hollows of the reef, and after a few minutes the killed (or stunned) fish come to the surface.

/196 cont./ **Kava (510)**

276 510. See p. 144 ff.

574 is drunk--as always--chiefly at social gatherings, on ceremonial occasions and before gala meals.

264 [178] Most Tongans eat only two meals a day, as in the past. In the morning (between nine and eleven o'clock) they eat a rather large quantity of food, and in the afternoon (between 17 and 19 o'clock) they have a meal almost as large, at which they use any leftovers from the morning meal; the portions consumed by adults seem astonishingly large to Europeans. On Sundays they usually have an earth-oven meal after the second morning service, around 10 or 11 o'clock, /197/ the leftovers from which they often eat in the afternoon as their second meal. In the larger towns of Nuku'alofa, Neiafu and Pangai, however, [177] [184] many families have gone over to the European example of having three meals a day (between 8 - 9, 12 - 13, and 18 - 19 o'clock), the first of which is often a breakfast of white bread. Thus, out of 92 households investigated in the remote village of 'Uiha, 89 have two meals a day and only three have three meals, whereas in Pungamisi, the "suburb" of Neiafu, out of 37 households checked, 22 have two meals and 15 have three meals a day. The great distance of plantations from the [252] villages is, in some instances, the reason why the natives also have "bush meals" (511)

511. Food roasted in embers or stewed in the earth-oven.

at irregular hours if they feel the need for them during their plantation work.

264 412 [516] Though spoons, forks, and knives are nowadays present in most households, the Tongans as a rule still eat with their fingers, as in pre-European times. They sit cross-legged in front of the meals they have been served, tear off, press, or cut off (512)

512. With a machete or table knife instead of

/197 cont./

264
412 the bamboo knife customary in former times.
pieces of tuber, fish or meat and put them in their mouths; in the case of tubers, some also knead individual bites into balls. By far
264 the majority of natives today use European pottery and tin plates
415 instead of the banana and breadfruit leaves used as plates in ancient
177 Tonga. It is only for gala meals that food is still generally served on banana leaves which are placed on plaited coconut-palm leaves or even on pieces of corrugated sheet metal. While kava is drunk only
415 out of coconut mugs, cups and ordinary mugs are today present in all
276 households for the rest of the beverages; the ancient Tonga banana-
178 leaf mugs (513)

513. See W. Ellis, An authentic narrative...I. p. 96/97; J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 197.

264 have long since fallen into oblivion. Meals are eaten in the cook hut,
178 in the open, on the verandas of European houses and sometimes (especially gala meals) in living rooms; eating inside the dwelling means a break with ancient custom, but it has by no means become a general habit.

264 Women were never excluded from common meals in Tonga. (514)
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514. Even Cook was struck by this (J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. p. 289.

264 The once strictly observed social stratification among the people,
565 however, made a sharp distinction, especially at meals, between members of the individual classes or the holders of various titles. (515)

515. See also J. Cook, ibid.

[178] Though the differences /198/ are today less glaring in public, one will scarcely see a person of higher rank dining with one of lower rank.

264 The numerous ancient Tongan festivals belong to the past as a
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/198 cont./

264 574 178 261 result of the Christianization and democratization of the Archipelago, and with them have disappeared the large gala meals which, in old times, could cause the danger of food shortage and hardship. (516)

516. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 214/215.

262 177 178 Seen as a whole, strong European influences are to be noted in the food sector, (517)

517. European foods even play a special role in festive customs.

which have led to a coexistence and merging of old and new and also to a loss of old traditions. Yet the main foundation of the ancient Tongan system of nutrition has been preserved: Though some imported foods have gained great importance, they have not become the chief foods, but are merely additions to the ancient Tongan fare. The traditional basic foods have not been replaced. Rather, the Tongans are largely meeting their own food needs through cultivation (especially of old indigenous plants), fishing (mostly with traditional methods) and domestic animal raising (with predominantly ancient Tongan domestic animals), and if today the islands should fall back into isolation, the entire population could go on living without particular readjustment and without hardship, solely from the products of their own land. (518)

[146] 518. Tongan everyday food is astonishingly poor in proteins and vitamins, according to European ideas. Yet the natives have been nourishing themselves in this way for many centuries, and are on the whole tall, well built and mostly plump figures.

Luxuries

276 261 262 272 273 If, by the term "luxury," we mean everything that is eaten and drunk merely because it is pleasant, regardless of its nutritional value, we must mention under this heading for Tonga kava, tobacco,

276 261 /198 cont./

262 chewing gum and candy, tea, coffee and cocoa, and finally alcoholic
272 273 beverages.

Of all these luxuries, kava alone belongs to ancient Tonga.
276 574 Since kava drinking for most Tongans is a purely social event, it was already discussed in connection with the description of village life. (519)

519. See p. 144 ff.

[178) It merits repetition to say that today kava dominates all social life on the islands of the Archipelago at least as much as, if not more then in the past.

276 /199/ For more than a century the Tongans have been familiar with
[797) the use of tobacco, (520)

520. See Ch. Wilkes, Narrative.../cited in English/ III. p. 26.

and though the missionaries at first fought bitterly against this "vice,"

521. Ibid., p. 26/27; O. W. Brierly, Brief geographical sketch.../cited in English/ p. 117.

today by far the majority of adult natives of both sexes smoke. The
276 177 439 younger Tongan men and women and those of middle age smoke imported English tobacco almost exclusively. They have become quite choosey about its quality, since several different brands are imported. Using a two-ounce packet of tobacco, they generally roll 60 (thicker) or 90 (thinner) cigarettes (using cigarette papers that have likewise been imported). Girls and women are just as skilfull as the men in rolling the cigarettes freehand. Imported cigarettes, which are obtainable in sufficient quantities and are not much more expensive than the "prime cost" of the self-rolled ones, are seldom smoked.

276 887 178 Old people (men as well as women), however, still prefer the

/199 cont./

276 887 178 tobacco that has for some times been cultivated on many of the native plantations in Tonga, and from this, together with dried pieces of banana leaves (hulu ifi tapaka), they smoke the "suluka," the size of which is between a cigarette and a cigar.

They prefer to cut banana leaves (usually of the hopa variety) early in the morning when they are fresh with dew; if the leaves are too dry that are moistened for a moment with fresh water. After the leaves have been pressed (for example, under a bed) and dried, they are cut in rectangular pieces. On each of these is placed a small quantity of tobacco, dried and cut fine, and the whole is rolled into a conical shape. The leaf is held in this position while the tip of the "suluka" is folded over and then bitten off just before it is smoked.

The natives usually take only a few puffs of the "suluka"; it often goes out, whereupon they stick it behind one ear and, after some time, often hours later, they relight it and continue smoking. The tobacco is strong. Old Tongans who are used to this weed, generally refuse the tobacco and cigarettes of whites.

276 [372] The natives usually light their cigarettes as well as the "suluka" with glowing coconut husks with which they traditionally keep the fire going and which they like to take along when they go to their plantations.

(177) Very few Tongans smoke European pipes.

Tobacco chewing is not very widespread; apparently only the indigenous tobacco is chewed.

261 177 /200/ Some boys, girls, men and women today are fond of chewing gum, which probably became known in the Archipelago through the American troops stationed on Tongatapu during the last war.

262 432 Many natives of both sexes and various ages are fond of sucking

/200 cont./

262 432 sour and sweet hard candies, which, like chewing gum, may be obtained from shopkeepers on most of the islands.

272 432 Tea, coffee and cocoa, though they may be bought today on many islands of the Archipelago, have not attained great importance for the Tongans. (522)

522. See chapter on "Food," p. 275 ff.

273 [439] [656] [177] [687] The natives cannot easily obtain alcoholic beverages (kava papalangi). Limited amounts are probably imported, but only a few Tongans have the required permit from the minister of police that entitles them to one bottle of spirits per month. On the black market the natives obtain only very small quantities of alcohol. Various Tongans have become experienced in making alcoholic beverages (using, for example, sugar [or artificial honey], yeast and pineapple), especially through their contact with foreign troops on Tongatapu during the second World War. But this illegal production that can be punished by imprisonment has heretofore been proportionately small, chiefly around Christmas time, and of late it has become insignificant.

276 177 Thus, European influences in the area of luxuries have brought about a certain change, chiefly through the importation of tobacco. But, although most Tongans enjoy smoking, they have not become so addicted to tobacco that they are actually dependent on it; (523)

523. For example, on the small islands, shopkeepers often run out of tobacco, and the Tongans who then lack smoking supplies usually bear the time they must wait for a new shipment with equanimity.

this is, of course, also not the case with the other new and less important luxuries.

C. Copra Production

245 177 Copra production (524)

S /296 cont./
T
177 canned goods have even been introduced into their ceremonial life.
178 Food preparation shows many traditional features--as among the Tongans
[262] and perhaps even more so--along with certain innovations (for example
[252] iron cooking pots), and the typical method of eating with one's
[415]
[264] fingers has also been retained.--The conservative Samoans have probably
not felt the need for further changes in their tried-and-true methods
in areas relating to their means of subsistence, which, moreover, have
not been influenced very much by Europeans and indeed would be difficult
to change if only because of geographic conditions.

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276 In both Archipelagos tobacco, a luxury imported by Europeans, has
177 become quite important; the natives grow it themselves to a large
249 extent and also buy it from shopkeepers.
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T /297/ As in Tonga, copra production in Samoa has become a very
245 common occupation, and to this has been added cocoa-growing. However,
S here too these new activities have not brought about much change; there
[434] has been no profit- mania, and the old social system has proved strong
[596] enough to withstand these influences, for the *matai* take over the
proceeds and use them on behalf of the entire family.

S The typical women's handwork of tapa-making and plaiting lives
T
462 on in Samoa--at least with respect to quality--as it does in Tonga.
178 Division of labor according to sex has also scarcely changed on the
463 Samoa Islands; however, in contrast to the development in the Tonga
Archipelago, the social division of labor (titles-untitles) has still
S been largely upheld. The daily routine has remained basically the
T
512 same in both island groups, and has been influenced only to a certain
178 extent by new duties and tasks. Land and sea traffic has changed very
S
T much in Samoa, as in Tonga, but it is noteworthy that the Samoans build
489 and use the simple outriggers (*paopao*) and in addition rather large
178
S numbers of the more complicated bonito-boats (*va'aalo*).
[501]

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3. Tongan /male/ in everyday clothes

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4. Pounding the kava root

[End Plate 2]

241 245 most important being coconut. The coconut, though representing the
majority of cash-earning export production, is also an important
[262] domestic food source. Coconut flesh and cream are integral parts of
[824] practically every Tongan meal. In addition, products of the coconut
palm are also important to other aspects of Tongan life, from house
construction to production of a shopping basket for marketing.

241 249 A second important supplementary agricultural crop is kava.
276 The roots of this plant are dried, pulverized, and mixed with water
to produce what could be called the Tongan national beverage.
Although the taste is somewhat alien to a non-Tongan palate, the
only observed immediate physical effect of this drink was a slight
[142] narcotic quality.[1] Prolonged consumption, however, was noted to
cause a darkening and scaling of the skin, evidenced in some older
Tongans.

241 245 A third supplementary plant is the papaya, which is only
infrequently cultivated for its fruit, and usually grows totally
262 unaided. While foreigners find the papaya to be a welcome addition
to the principally tuber diet of the Tongan, it is, strangely, a
262 native food viewed with low status. Few interviewees admitted to
231 consuming papaya regularly, and frequently described the fruit as
being pig food.

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[1] On several occasions young Tongan men, having consumed a large quantity of the kava drink, or "Tongan beer" as it is commonly referred to, were observed to be thoroughly intoxicated. However, experience indicated that enormous quantities of the drink are necessary to produce anything more serious than a mild headache. From all indications, the intoxicating effect is quite simply psychological, rather than physiological, although all Tongans questioned will attest to the contrary.

102: Brierly T-3 (1850) 1852
OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu

123 without rising, and shook hands—first with Captain Keppel, and
643 then with the rest of the party. He thanked Captain Keppel for
having brought him a letter from the governor of New Zealand,
574 but said that, having been engaged in receiving his chiefs that
morning, he had not yet had time to read it, and then, having
accepted an invitation to dine on board that day, he turned his
face away, and, resuming his former abstracted look, did not
speak again.

574 The ceremonies connected with the kava drinking were now
644 going on. Two chiefs, each carrying bundles of the root, came in
and laid them upon the mat before the king, where they left them
● [276] and retired. The chief, sitting on the king's right hand, then
ordered them to be counted, upon which two men came and sat
down before them, with their faces towards the king. The ceremony
then proceeded in the order which we were informed was
usually observed on these occasions, as follows:—The chief demands
how many bundles there are, and the men count them, calling
out A-tá-ha! Ua! Túlu! one, two, three, and so on, touching
each bundle as they do so, and counting them over in this way
twice, the same form being observed although there might be only
two or three bundles. Pigs, yams, and other provisions are also
laid before the king and counted in the same manner, the pigs
being carved in the royal presence, each being divided into eight
parts, which are handed to the chiefs, who bring what they receive,
and again lay it before the king, retiring until his spokesman
[237] recalls them, when they finally take it away. The pig's liver is
laid upon leaves and presented to the king, who generally sends it
to some one as a mark of his favour.

574 Besides the chief on his right, who directs the ceremonies
generally, the king was attended by his orator, a venerable looking
644 old chief, who sat two removed from him on his left, and who, after
537 the chiefs had all presented their offerings, made a speech of thanks
for the king in return. He spoke rapidly, but distinctly, pausing
for a few seconds between each sentence. During his oration, the
[201] most perfect silence was observed, every one listening with an
appearance of great respect and attention; the chiefs, when he had
finished, calling out, Mālo-mālēeah—very good, very sweet; the
king, all the time, sitting quite silent, and without appearing to
notice anything that was going on.

276 The kava root was now broken up into small portions with a
574 heavy pointed club, about five feet in length, made out of a whale's
644 jaw, the rind and points of the root being carefully removed, and
pieces of it handed round to the chiefs, who chewed it into a pulp,
[412] which they spat into a piece of plantain leaf, and went with it to a
[237] man sitting with a large wooden bowl before him, in the centre of
[415] the semicircle, facing the king. When a sufficient quantity had

102: Brierly T-3 (1850) 1852
OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu

been collected, the kava-mixer raised the bowl and inclined it slightly over, so that the king might see it, and then replaced it on the ground. Water was then brought to him in cocoa-nut shells by the people behind, when, wiping his hands very carefully upon some crushed bark, he proceeded to knead the kava paste, pressing it against the bottom of the bowl with the palms of his hands, two men at the same time, one sitting on each side, pouring water into it until the whole became thoroughly mixed. He then wiped his hands again, and taking some white fibre, prepared from the inner rind of the Hibiscus bark, sprinkled a quantity of it lightly over the surface of the fluid, so as completely to cover it; and having arranged it with great care, and perfectly even, he tucked it carefully in round the sides of the bowl, so as to enclose and gather up within it all the more solid portions of the kava. At this stage of the proceedings, the interest in his movements seemed to increase, every one watching him with the greatest attention. Some of the oldest chiefs, who up to this time had sat like mummies, now showed symptoms of animation, and turned their heads towards the kava bowl. The expression of the kava-maker became more serious as he seemed to feel all the responsibility of his office, and proceeded with his work like a man conscious that the eyes of Tonga were upon him. Having tucked the bark in perfectly even all round, he grasped the whole mass firmly from below, and raised it slowly up out of the bowl. This was considered the most critical part of the whole proceeding; and his character as a kava-maker would have been lost for ever if he had allowed a drop of the precious liquor to fall outside the rim. The excitement became every moment more intense, and some hundred and fifty chiefs, the principal men of Tonga, watched in breathless silence the dripping mass which hung suspended over the bowl. The greater portion having drained out in this way, the kava-mixer, with a dexterous turn of the wrist, twisted it round, so as to bring it upon the fore part of the left arm, and then, leaning backwards, put forth all his strength to wring out the last drop. His chest heaved, the teeth were firmly set, the muscles of the arms started out and became hard and defined, the brows contracted and shaded the eyes, as he continued to lean back still more, every part of his powerful frame seeming to come into play, and quivering with the exertion; his skin shining with oil, giving to the figure the appearance of an antique bronze. A buzz of approval rose from the chiefs as he threw the bark away from him, and recovered himself with an appearance of great exhaustion.

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The kava then underwent a second straining with fresh bark, but without the same attention to effect, when the man, pronouncing a kind of blessing by striking his hands together, stretched out his arm over the bowl, and it was ready for serving out. The chiefs

[415]

102: Brierly T-3 (1850) 1852
OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu

276 now rose, one at a time, and went to him with small cups of green
574 banana leaf, which he filled with a dipper made by rolling up some
644 bark lightly into a rounded point. When the cup was filled, the
[415] chief who received it turned round, and, advancing to the centre,
fronted the king, holding it with both hands about breast high. A
man stationed behind the kava-maker then called out "Kava-kua-heeka!"
The kava having been lifted up, the king's spokesman
proclaimed in the same tone to whom it should be given,
frequently using some sobriquet to point out the person intended
—as "atu ia kia Taaga!"—give it to the singer—give it to the
laugher—give it to the dancer, and so on, but all in the most
serious manner imaginable. It was then handed to the person
indicated, who drank it off and threw the cup away.

123 After the kava had been all served out, the chiefs that sat outside
644 the house rose and went off without any further ceremony—
the people carrying away their portions of pork, yams, &c.; and
[574] this being all that was to be seen then, we made our bow and
took our departure, leaving the king to discuss state matters with
his ministers, who remained sitting with him in the shed as we had
found them. We afterwards called upon the queen, but were
informed that she was rather unwell after her passage from
Haabai; the young prince, George Vuna, however, was sent out to
644 receive us. He was a fine intelligent little fellow, about eight
[302] years of age, with large expressive brown eyes, his head being
shaved quite smooth, excepting a lock over each temple. Four or
five boys of his own age, his attendants and companions, came out
123 with him. Having indulged their curiosity by allowing them to take
a good stare at us, one of the party presented the prince with a
644 waistcoat which reached half way down to his ankles; another
gave him a large silk handkerchief of a blue-and-white bird's-eye
pattern, which was tied round his neck in a sailor's knot. We
then left him, highly delighted with his new dress, his half-dozen
naked attendants shouting and dancing round him.

123 From the palace I went with some others to see if we could collect
any curiosities among the houses, and while we were squatted
644 down in one of them, bartering for some tappa, the great town-drum
505 began to beat, and immediately afterwards a native came
running in to tell us that the remainder of the royal fleet from
Vavau and Haabai were coming in, bringing the Tamahá, a person
of the highest rank in Tonga. This news quickly brought us
to our legs, and we hurried off with the rest.

644 The day was brilliantly fine, and natives from all quarters were
collecting upon the hill, watching the approach of the royal fleet
505 of large double canoes, as it came up before the fresh sea-breeze,
the canoes spreading all over the bay, some far off on the distant
horizon, others nearer, threading their way between the little

General Remarks.

Kava.—The use of the kava, from its intoxicating property 276
when taken in any quantity, is discountenanced by the missiona-
ries, but the custom seems to prevail nearly as much now as when
Cook visited the islands. It is the first thing prepared by a chief 276
when visited by his friends, and to neglect this would be considered 574
a want of courtesy amounting to insult, which would be highly
resented. At kava parties the ring is kept clear, no one who is 576
not employed in some duty connected with the ceremony being
allowed within it, and to walk across it would be considered as an
insult to the whole assembly. The kava is carried by inferior chiefs [554]
to those of higher rank, and the king would take it to the Tamahá [565]
or Tui Tonga Tagata. When they have drank the kava they throw
away the small cup in which it is served, and at neither of the 276
two great kava meetings we saw was the same cup used twice.
It is considered best when chewed by young women. In my strolls 249
round the island I saw several plantations of it; the young shoots 123
had just spread into leaf and were hoed, the ground between
them being carefully cleared of weeds.

Human Sacrifices.—The last human sacrifice was offered at Mua 782
about eight years ago, on the occasion of the death of Fátu, the
chief of the place, to propitiate the god who they thought had 766
punished them by thus depriving them of their chief. It was
a boy, about eleven years of age, who was strangled with a piece
of tappa passed round his neck, and then drawn tightly by two
men, one of whom was his own father!

Finger Sacrifices.—Many of the natives have lost their little 782
fingers. These were formerly cut off by the parents of the chil- 304
dren as offerings to the gods, to obtain success in war, or to propi-
tiate them in cases of sickness.

Disease in Children.—The children when first born, and for 164
some time after, are very healthy, but invariably about a certain
age break out into sores which spread all over the body. I have
observed the same thing at Cape York, and some of the islands
of Torres Straits, where the natives call it Badálli, and attribute
it to the influence of the Mydállaga, or men who deal in charms,
or to the ill wish of some secret enemy.

The Tabu.—Whatever might have been the mysterious nature 784
and origin of the tabu, it simply means now something forbidden.
A tent being set up near the beach for the purpose of affording 784
shelter to the men who were sent ashore to burn lime, and to con-
tain their clothes, provisions, and cooking utensils, the natural 609
curiosity of the natives made them rather troublesome, which being
observed by an old chief, he called them all out and placed the

own people, and finds sufficient employment in attending to his 643
duties as King without meddling in trade. He is one of the best [439]
sailors among the Tongaese, and has frequently shown remarkable [157]
coolness and presence of mind in situations of danger. When we
were at Tongatabu he was about to build a jetty over the reef at
the anchorage. He does not smoke, and his example is generally 276
followed by his people, smoking being considered as a mark of [643]
dissipation. At one time, however, it prevailed to a great extent,
nearly every man and woman, and even many children, smoking [178]
whenever they could get tobacco. The use of it is discouraged [177]
by the missionaries, but I imagine that some of the natives still
secretly indulge in it, for while I was sketching one day a young [747]
woman came up to me, and, first looking cautiously around,
inquired in a confidential whisper if I had any tobacco, at the same
time showing me a short black pipe.

Canoes.—The model exhibited will serve to show the construc- 501
tion of these better than any description. They are steered with
a large paddle on the lee quarter, and it will be seen that the
lower part or foot of the sail is secured to a spar in the same man-
ner as the sails of the "America" yacht. King George's canoe
is 90 feet long, the sail being 90 feet high and 60 feet wide at the
top. These large double canoes will carry as many as 200 men.

In 1847 King George, fearing that the French might interfere 643
with him, wrote a letter to the governor of New Zealand, request- 648
ing that he might with his people be received as subjects of the
British crown.

I would venture to remark that it must be of advantage to cul- 000
tivate friendly relations with the inhabitants of all such islands as
are desirous of being connected with us, more especially as it may
be very desirable to form depôts for our steamers at some of the
islands. It has been exceedingly difficult for me to draw a line 121
between the geographical and the ethnological in this paper, as
they are so intimately connected; but I trust by this simple narra-
tion, illustrated by the pencil, that many, who would have no taste
for a voyage of 12,000 or 15,000 miles, will in some measure
realize the condition of our antipodean fellow men; and it is to be
hoped that in a comparatively few years the connexion existing
between our Australian colonies and the mother country may also
include these beautiful and fertile islands.

Sailing Directions for entering Tongatabu.

HAVING no map of Tongatabu, or any knowledge of the place, we were in doubt 122
as to which was the proper entrance to the anchorage, and the following sailing 114
directions were afterwards kindly given me by Mr. May, master of the Meander,
as the result of his observation upon going in.

When the northern point of Eua bears S., steer direct for the small island of Eua 131
Eki, on nearing which several small islets will be observed immediately to the 133